# Libertarian Review

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EDUCATION

# A Primer of Libertarian Education

## By Joel Spring

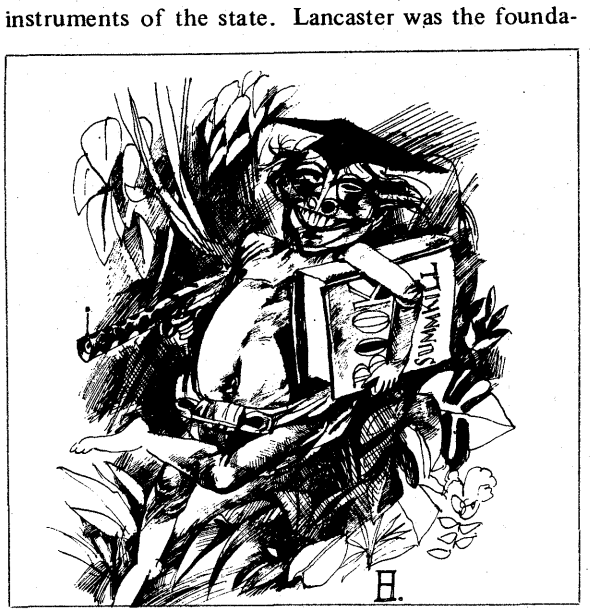
Wouldn't libertarian thought be much easier if all the children would just disappear from our Hamlins? Children are *obviously* incapable of self direction. Children obviously require nurturance and guidance, authority and prohibition. The concept "childhood" is a laboratory for the rhetoric of authoritarianism. One needs merely accelerate the analog.

Spring seems like most libertarian educational philosophers in an implicit acceptance of authority vis-à-vis children and illiterate victimized adults: ". . . learning must result from praxis. Learning must be directly connected to social problems and used to solve those problems. . . . teaching reading [is] the most political act in the educational process. . . . the actual themes [of teacher/student dialogue] would not be chosen until after careful investigation. What must be sought in the future is a system of education which raises the level of individual consciousness to an understanding of the social and historical forces that have created the existing society. . . ."

Who decides which "praxis"? What social problems and who decides the solution? Who chooses the politics illumined by the initial texts of reading? How are the themes of dialogue carefully chosen? Whose standards of care? Whose criteria of investigation? Can anyone presume to understand the forces that create that fiction, society? Who decided our children (or the "silent" adults) should be social determinists anyway? The child does not choose the environment in which he learns. If not chosen it is given, if not given it is a function of authority. Or so the received wisdom insists.

Spring does introduce us to the notion that "childhood" is a construct, manufactured to fit the needs of mercantile and industrial states. However, the heart of his primer is an interweaving of Freire and Marx. Freire, the revolutionary Brazilian teacher of reading to adults, has a more solid base of pragmatic experience on which to elaborate Marx' preoccupation with raising the consciousness of the silent. It is interesting how similar their rhetoric is to that of contemporary women's movements. That is, the raising of awareness is seen not merely as an action of the *fonctionaire* upon the silent mass, but as a dialogue in which the *apparatchik* helps the mute obtain their own shaping of ends. It all makes pretty poetry. Methinks it confuses map with territory. Freire and Spring end up on some pretty sharp and familiar rocks. An elegant rhetoric does not a revolution make, a revolution does not liberty make, and education does not some learning make.

A major flaw in Spring's book is his neglect of such practically successful radical educators as Lancaster and Makarenko. Both these idealistic radicals shaped effective institutions which evolved into monstrous instruments of the state. Lancaster was the founda-




tion of the Angloamerican public education machine, and Makarenko is the icon of the socialist conscience. Both were effective in their own lifetimes, and the methods of both were ravaged for contrary political ends. Spring shows us something of this process in asserting that Carl Roger's methods are popular in public education because they are (socially) value-free. Spring fails, however, to show how Freire's "praxis" is any more immune to statist corruption than Roger's reflexive method or Marx' own tactics.

Spring does, bless him, introduce those three embarrassingly juicy figures of liberty, Reich, Neill, and Goodman. Spring contends that if Freire's praxis is matured by engaging the character structure so that the emerging consciousness develops in men who desire freedom then an effective tactic emerges. There can be little question that the central problem for libertarians is the lust of mass man for the security of authority. It is not at all certain that Reich's accurate insights about this process are at all useful. Indeed, the lifelong irrelevance of Goodman, the candy coating of Neill even as *Summerhill* sells in the hundreds of thousands of copies, the crazy aping of Reich's language with little or none of his substance argue powerfully that none of their methods of character development or change proved practicable. This was Reich's last conclusion, Neill was notoriously antagonistic to "therapy" and thought his Summerhill could not be duplicated, and Goodman was always ironically aware of his irrelevance and the quaintly tenuous fabric of liberty.

Method is the libertarian funk.

From 1950 to 1960 some 250-500 million illiterate Chinese were taught to read, to accept a novel and radicalizing regime, to tolerate and participate enthusiastically in radicalization of behavior in family, child rearing, courtship, farming, factory methods, and even transactions with flies. This is *education.*

American educational literature establishes that schooling has no real effect, that no method of teaching reading is superior to any other, that children seem to average out in a bell-shaped curve of competence by age 11, that remedial reading methods with poor readers are slightly worse than no training at all, and that peer interactions are more important than any interventions by professionals. The purveyors of delinquency statistics indicate the fabric of adolescent values has shattered. This is *education.*

Ignoring the context of these realities Spring argues that reading ought to be taught as a libertarian revolutionary mode (by using socially relevant material carefully chosen after much inspection). Common sense tells us that reading is not genetically imprinted, most humans have been illiterate, reading does not spring up spontaneously among the Mundugamore and 100,000 years of big-brained Cro-Magnon produced not a single reader.

The evidence, however, is overwhelming that a child in a literate culture will teach himself to read and by the end of his tenth year will be as fluent as instructed children but more flexible in writing and spontaneous conversation. This has certainly been true for my own children and those afflicted with my guardianship.

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# A Word to Our Readers

**Announcing the Center for Libertarian Studies.** The beginnings of the Center for Libertarian Studies go back to the late 1960s, when a small group of scholars, deploring the absence of a forum for the exchange of libertarian ideas, organized the first Libertarian Scholars Conference. The conference was held in October 1972 and, despite virtually no outside financial support or other resources, was a huge success. A second conference was held in October 1974, a third in 1975. Each was eagerly awaited, well-attended, and highly productive.

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The Center is organized as a nonprofit corporation, and it has received the assistance of the Foundation for New Educational Projects, Inc. (Contributions made out to the Foundation and earmarked "For the Center for Libertarian Studies" are *tax deductible.*) A contribution of $100 or more will enroll you as a Friend of the Center for Libertarian Studies and will bring you a one-year subscription to the CLS *Newsletter;* a one-year subscription to the *Journal of Libertarian Studies;* all of the Center's Occasional Papers; substantial discounts on publications, conferences, courses, and lectures; invitations to exclusive receptions and seminars featuring prominent libertarian speakers; and a handsome card identifying you as a Friend of the Center. Of course, *all* contributions to the Center, no matter how large or small, will be deeply appreciated by lovers and defenders of liberty everywhere.

Send your contributions and requests for more information about the Center to Center for Libertarian Studies, 200 West 58th Street, Suite 5D, New York, NY 10019.—RDK

• We are pleased to announce that Ralph Raico, Associate Professor of History at SUNY Buffalo and long-time libertarian activist, has joined *Libertarian Review* as an associate editor. Professor Raico's reviews have appeared in these pages in the past, and in our last issue he contributed an appreciation of Murray N. Rothbard on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday. Professor Raico will soon offer us his thoughts on the *Lusitania* disaster and on the work of C.S. Lewis.

• The marvelous cartoons that grace our cover and illustrate the lead review in each issue of *LR* are the creations of Edward J. Henrion, a New York City high school art teacher and freelance illustrator and designer. Ed lives in Greenwich Village with his wife, Marilyn, and their four children. We hope you are as pleased as we are that Ed has joined the *LR* family.

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• **Things to Come.** Susan Love Brown on Jerry Klasman's controversial *Living With Equals.* R. Bretnor asking "Where Is Our Intellectual Middle Class?" Randy Boehm on *A Gang of Pecksniffs* and *The Letters of H.L. Mencken.* John Hospers on Brand Blanshard's *Reason and Belief.* Bruce Bartlett deflating Galbraith in a review of *Money: Whence It Came, Where It Went.* ■

## Contributors

### IN THIS ISSUE

**Petr Beckmann** is Professor of Electrical Engineering at the University of Colorado, the editor and publisher of the monthly *Access to Energy,* and the author of numerous books and scientific papers. **Leonard P. Liggio** teaches in the American Studies Program at SUNY, Long Island. **Neil McCaffrey,** jazz buff extraordinaire, is President of Arlington House Publishers. **Steven A. Peterson** is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Lecturer in Animal Behavior at Alfred University. **Elizabeth Worthington Philip** is a student at Harvard University. **Adam V. Reed** is a researcher in the Mathematical Psychology Laboratory of Rockefeller University. **Murray N. Rothbard** is Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, editor of *Libertarian Forum,* an associate editor of *Libertarian Review,* and an inveterate movie-goer. **George von Hilsheimer** is an authority on special education and the author of *How to Live with Your Special Child.* He recently was awarded a PhD in human ethology. **George F. Will** is a nationally syndicated columnist and Washington editor of *National Review.* His review of *Strictly Speaking* is reprinted with permission from the *Washington Post.* ■

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# What Happened to Conservatism?

CASSETTE TAPE

## By Karl Hess

"Too darn much ideology and not enough reality" seems to be the theme of *What Happened to Conservatism?,* but the New Left that Hess describes as having assumed the traditional position of conservatism, which "stands athwart to history yelling halt," does not appear to provide a remedy to this complaint. Hess' analysis of the consequences of government intervention in the sphere of economic activities is perceptive, yet the neighborhood system he proposes as an alternative to the growing hegemony of big government and big corporations is unlikely as a practical lifestyle. It is a return to a golden age of self-sufficient communities, whose citizens, endowed with the virtues of cooperation and a sense of responsibility, are content with their lot in life.

The movement toward the small scale reflects Hess' preoccupation with the evils of large institutions, from nations to supermarket chains. Big corporations in collusion with big government have destroyed free enterprise. But the worst aspect of large institutions, according to Hess, is that they produce nothing useful. Big business is anti-innovative, and thus inefficient and nonproductive. The original concept of Henry Ford's invention, for instance, has been subordinated to the concept of merchandising; creative talent has concentrated on developing style, not better transportation. Management is in the hands of unimaginative bureaucrats, who know nothing about the processes they direct and are unable to come up with innovations. Although Hess prefers that the economy be in the hands of small businessmen and entrepreneurs, he is not really interested in a return to free competition; "competition has led to nothing useful." He emphasizes the value of cooperation without seeming to reflect that while inventions can indeed be made only by individuals, competition is often the vehicle by which an innovation is supported and made available to the large numbers of persons who could not invent, for example, their own car.

Self-sufficient neighborhoods are the frontier of the New Left, combining the values of conservatism and the ingenuity with which early settlers adapted old ways of living to a new environment. The creativity of the working man provides, for Hess, the panacea for the evils of man's existence. He likes beneficial inventions that fit into a small self-sufficient community because they can be manufactured on a small craft-shop scale. A plough, for example, facilitates the preparation of farmland, and can be made by an individual. However, one wonders about the likelihood of abolishing the division of labor. Persuading farmers to return to homemade ploughs after allowing them the luxury of tractors, albeit manufactured on a huge assembly line, would seem an impossible task, and is indicative of the difficulties Hess' system would present to "the people."

The most appealing aspect of a neighborhood system is that politicans would be tossed out to make an honest living. The political leaders elected by a neighborhood assembly would be persons willing to work, since no one would agree to pay a salary to a fellow community member without a substantial return. The person in charge would be forced to assume all responsibility for his decisions and actions, and as there is no institution of force behind the power of office, he would persuade, rather than coerce the public. Fundamental to the neighborhood, according to Hess, is a responsible citizenry. He makes a good point in stressing the unquestioning apathy with which most people view and accept the decisions of politicians and "experts." Neighbors must be willing to inform themselves about issues. Since the neighborhood is small, and its problems are limited, informing oneself would simply require average awareness.

The emphasis on cooperation and responsibility extends to limit the concept of individual rights to what the community as a whole agrees on. This is true of all of society, but social and geographic mobility allows persons whose rights are abridged in one locale to find an alternative. Hess' system of small neighborhoods in which a citizen stays within a twenty-mile radius of his birthplace does not promise to be a particularly peaceful way of living. Even without political means to oppress their neighbors, one sector could withhold tools and produce with disastrous results. Surplus population and oppressed groups would have no cities to migrate to and no industries to employ them in a society of isolated, self-sufficient communities. A neighborhood forced to support more persons than it could feed might be tempted to turn to the traditional solutions of looting and colonization, or a network of exchange. Either way, the neighborhood system would break down.

In comparing neighborhoods with the American frontier, Hess overlooks the fact that while the frontier did emphasize hard work and cooperation it also functioned as an escape from the very sort of small-scale communities he describes. In the beginning of this speech Hess says that had conservatives stayed in power all neighborhoods would look pretty much alike. That remark gives a good indication of why conservatives did not stay in power. The natural inclination of most people is to want what they don't have, and to resist staying in one place, one social strata, or one occupation if another seems more attractive. And why not? Karl Hess is himself a prime example of the mobility that modern society, with all its anonymity and complexity, offers. He left high school at fifteen and has had a variety of careers: welder, editor of *Newsweek,* speechwriter for Goldwater in 1964, and, more recently, author of books. Small communities are notorious for exercising group pressure on members to conform to what the group thinks they should do. A self-sufficient community in particular cannot afford to indulge creativity, or even

*(Continued on page 14)*


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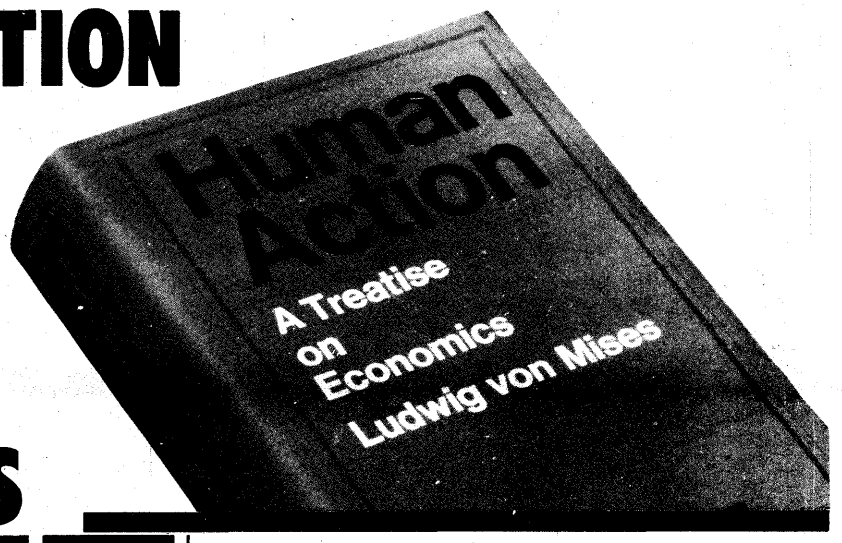


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# Music IN REVIEW

## Jazz: The Golden Age

**By Neil McCaffrey**

### PART IV: WHAT HATH MILLER WROUGHT?

In late winter or early spring of 1939, I announced to the world, or the minuscule part that would listen, that Glenn Miller was destined to be the Number One band. Since Glenn would have been lucky to place among the Top Forty at the time, didn't that prediction make me, at the ripe old age of thirteen, a seer without peer?

Not quite. I'm afraid I was simply parroting my uncle, Bill Waterman. Which made Bill the seer, yes? I doubt it. Bill did have some knowledge of the band business, having booked bands like Freddy Martin and Smith Ballew into Post Lodge in Larchmont, N.Y., in the early '30s. But a prediction of that sort presupposed specialized knowledge rare among laymen. I suspect Bill heard it from one of his friends in the business; probably from Cork O'Keefe, who managed the Casa Loma band.

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Anyway, by Labor Day of that year, Glenn had come up from nowhere and was just settling onto his throne. And I was already getting tired of the band. I have to say that I learned fast in those days.

The Miller crew, of course, went on to establish itself as easily the most popular band of all time. Even more, Glenn became a legend; and I doubt that *anyone* would have predicted that. (It helps, to paraphrase Voltaire, if you can get yourself killed in a war.)

As befits a legend, Glenn Miller Lives. RCA has done its part, reissuing his records, periodically and with loving care, over the last three decades. It has done more. It has reissued scores of airchecks by both his civilian and his Air Force bands. The latest aircheck album is a twofer, expertly produced by Miller aficionado George T. Simon and dubbed *Glenn Miller: A Legendary Performer.* It recapitulates the civilian band's three years of stardom, from opening night at Glen Island Casino on 17 May 1939, to closing night on the Chesterfield show of 24 September 1942, just before he donned his captain's garb. Like all aircheck albums, it is interesting on two counts. We get a few arrangements the band never recorded, notably a good, obscure 1941 Rodgers and Hart tune, "Sentimental Me." And we get to compare many of the warhorses to the recorded versions, with this album's "In the Mood" and "My Melancholy Baby" winning honors.

But I'm sorry to say that we are now, finally, scraping the bottom of the barrel. These are the performances that were passed over when RCA did its earlier aircheck albums. This may well be the last one.

Not, however, the last of Glenn. RCA has another significant project in the works: double albums of the entire Miller canon on RCA, in chronological order. It has never been done before. The first two double albums are now out, in the Bluebird reissue series. They carry us from September 1938 to October 1939: the Meteoric year. With the genius of hindsight, we can now weigh the debits and credits.

Here are the early hits, preeminently "Moonlight Serenade": still, for all its overexposure, a lovely tune, and the most evocative of theme songs. Catchy if simplistic instrumentals like "Little Brown Jug" and "In the Mood." More muscular instrumentals like "Glen Island Special" and "King Porter Stomp." Infectious rhythm tunes like "Wham" and "Baby Me." And a host of timeless songs that showcased Miller's Big Bertha, the reed-section sound: "Oh You Crazy Moon," "Stairway to the Stars," "My Isle of Golden Dreams," "Blue Evening," and "The Lamp Is Low."

Some of the band's weaknesses were admittedly not obvious to untutored listeners. Drummer Moe Purtill achieved a measure of fame incarnating the principle that it doesn't have to be good as long as it's loud. Chummy MacGregor, a pal of Glenn's, would have served better as band boy than band pianist. Trumpeter Clyde Hurley was as efficient as a downtown bank, and as warm. Glenn's own trombone solos were clumsy even when memorized.

The kids didn't mind any of this, it goes without saying. But the way they shouted for vocalists Ray Eberle and Marion Hutton is enough to shake one's faith in John and Jane Public. Granted you didn't have to qualify for the Met to sing with a band. But consider the better singers with the other major bands: Jack Leonard, Sinatra and Jo Stafford with Tommy Dorsey; Dick Haymes and Helen Forrest with Harry James; Helen Ward, Helen Forrest, Peggy Lee and Art Lund with Benny Goodman; Bob Eberly and Helen O'Connell with Jimmy Dorsey. Only a sadist would mention any of these in the same breath with Marion and Ray. I've never heard either Millerite get through 32 bars in one piece. Their success has to be unsettling to anyone who takes our popular music seriously.

So, when we add it all up, does the success of the band. There is less to Glenn Miller than meets the ear. He belongs on anyone's list of Top Forty bands—maybe even around the bottom of the Top Thirty. What carried him from there to legend was The Gimmick.

The Gimmick was the sound of the saxophones: the clarinet lead over the four saxes. It was a new sound, lush and lyrical. It made a humdrum ballad seem important. It made America sax-conscious. And it made millions of us of a certain age associate Glenn Miller, forever after, with soft emotions and bittersweet memories. So you might as well buy these albums, even though you may never join the Glenn Miller Appreciation Society. If you're forty-plus and didn't spend your early years in a monastery, they're part of you.

But do keep your wits about you, and ponder, for the nonce, the Meaning of Miller. The whole was greater than the sum of the parts. He was a Force; and and, I fear, for the better.

Glenn arrived in 1939—arguably, the apogee of the Big Band Era. In the fall of 1938, Artie Shaw and "Begin the Beguine" had toppled Benny Goodman. The momentum carried Shaw and his greatest band (about which, more in a future column) through most of 1939. Benny spent the year regrouping; it was far from his best year. It was, I think, Tommy Dorsey's best year (though not one of his most popular). It was also the year that saw the debut of a pride of new bands, the most important of which were led by Will Bradley, Jack Teagarden, and Harry James. It was the year Charlie Barnet, Woody Herman, and Earl Hines emerged.

All this bustle and good music spilled over into 1940; but now, in retrospect, we can see 1940 as the year of transition, from the Golden Age to the Silver Age. Glenn Miller played a major role in the decline: not his music so much as his influence.

Glenn ushered in the era of the big production—like Whiteman before him, whose approach to music he seemed to emulate, perhaps unconsciously. Glenn gave us the multi-vocal arrangement: two or three choruses sung, with correspondingly little room for the band. Tommy Dorsey had hired a vocal group, the Pied Pipers, early in 1940. Not till the end of the year did Glenn take on the Modernaires. But it seemed that after the Modernaires came the deluge. Not that Glenn didn't have good reason to hire them. Marion Hutton and Ray Eberle needed all the help the could get. But it was the clubfoot in the door. In a few years, the singers were swallowing up the bands.

Then too, all that slickness. Trumpets pointing up to the sky. Trombones and saxes arching back and forth. All that showmanship, all that manufactured enthusiasm—the band *had* to be great. Didn't it?

Well, no. In a better day, the excitement wasn't superimposed, nor superficial. It grew out of the music. Then came Glenn Miller, serene and innocent, to unleash the trends that would start a Gresham's law operating in popular music. It's operating still.

Yet little men are not the stuff of legend, and Glenn Miller *is* a legend. What might have happened had Glenn's plane made it across the Channel that soupy day in December 1944? George Simon reveals (in *Glenn Miller and His Orchestra,* the best book ever written about a big band) that Glenn planned, after the war, to reorganize his Air Force band in civies. The Air Force band, with its acre of strings, was even more of a production than the civilian band. Yet thanks to the drive of drummer Ray McKinley and the solos of Pianist Mel Powell, clarinetist Peanuts Hucko, and trumpeter Bernie Privin, it also swung with incomparably more authority. The postwar band would thus have been, easily, the most impressive production-style, all-around band in history. Glenn would have been given a hero's welcome. He could have written his own scenario.

It's fun to speculate on the features of that scenario. The postwar Miller band might have rescued the big bands, routed the hordes of singers, banished the zombies of bop to the fringes where they belonged—and, needless to add, spared us the locusts of rock.

It might have been. Miller was a big man. Bach was followed by Beethoven. Glenn Miller didn't *have* to be followed by Eddie Fisher, Elvis, and Mick Jagger. ■


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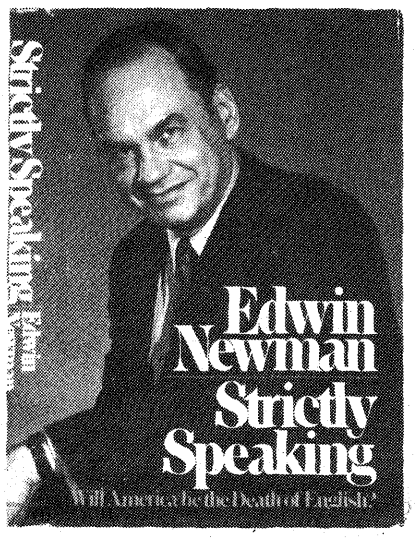
# Strictly Speaking: Will America Be the Death of English?

## By Edwin Newman

Treasury Secretary William Simon is bright, public spirited, and, perhaps, the man to save us from economic ruin. But is our salvation worth the price of listening to the zillion press conferences he will hold as Economy Czar?

When he was just a demi-Romanov as Energy Czar, he declared that "one cannot ad hoc tax reform," and he urged us to avoid energy "wastage," which is waste with a syllable wastefully added. I would rather listen to the sound track from *Gigi* than listen to Simon explain (as he probably will) why developments along the "interface" between the oil industry and the government may require "end use allocation" (rationing).

Simon is the Homer of what may be called Simonspeak when it finally replaces English. But he did not invent it. I call my razor a razor. Gillette calls it a "Trac-II shaving system." Mercury has a new "precision size" car which is either larger or smaller (the name does not give a clue) than the "personal size" Mercury.




Football—spasms of violence separated by committee meetings—is the game for our time, which may be why football announcers talk like politicians. Football and government experts talk about their games in a patois of contrived complexity and faked sophistication. Such language is explained in a spirited new book, *Strictly Speaking: Will America Be the Death of English?* by Edwin Newman of NBC News.

Newman believes that sportscaster Howard Cosell reveals something about our tone-deaf society when he talks about a "relative paucity of scoring," or a "veritable plethora of field goals," and when he says: "The mist is drifting over the stadium like a description in a Thomas Hardy novel." But when Newman gets done examining the gaseous language of politics, it seems oddly reasonable that Cosell is thinking of running for the Senate.

In Washington, Newman says, "the chief characteristic of language is self-importance." Democratic Congressman Hugh Carey, hinting that he will try to become governor of New York, says: "I am considering offering my capacity for statewide leadership." All government officials say "I would hope" (William Simon: "I would hope our allocation program would take care of that") without, Newman notes, specifying the conditions under which their hopes would come to pass.

Academics, like politicians, use inflated language to make banal thoughts seem profound, to make confusion seem like subtlety, and to disguise undignified self-promotion.

Dartmouth College speaks of a "diverse leadership group of schools" issuing a report containing "arresting conclusions of almost watershed quality." Hampshire College declares that "the social structure should optimally be the consonant patterned expression of culture, and that higher education is enmeshed in a congeries of social and political change."

The president of the Organization of American Historians calls 1974 "This antepenultimate year of our bicentennial." New York's former mayor, John Lindsay, says his son will attend private schools because "he needs peer stuff."

A government report says: "Highway development expenditures will conform de facto to the efficiency criterion, and will have their greatest initial impact on the periphery of Appalachia, where the more viable growth centers are located." Newman translates: "Money to build highways in Appalachia will be spent where it will do the most good, and at first in the growing towns on the edge of the region."

A sociologist writes: "The social ontogeny of each generation recapitulates the social phylogeny of Negroes in the New World because the basic socioeconomic position of the group has not changed in a direction favorable to successful achievement in terms of conventional norms." "Or," Newman says, "each generation of American Negroes, like its predecessors, makes less money than whites."

Today, Newman says, boundaries are parameters, parts are components, things are not equal but coequal, signs are indicators, causes are exogenous variables. Recently some parents of Dallas grammar school children received codes and 28-page explanations called "Terminal Behavior Objectives for Continuous Progression Modules in Early Childhood Education." These were report cards.

A reporter asked Simon when gasoline rationing might begin. Simon replied, "That would be judgmental." Newman says: "People who say judgmental think they are important." In fact, they often are important, and that is important, and scary. © 1974 by *The Washington Post.* **Reviewed by George F. Will / Bobbs-Merrill, 1974 / $1.95 pb, $7.95 hc**


# How To Self Publish Your Own Book & Make It A Best Seller!

By Ted Nicholas

**Zane Grey, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Henry David Thoreau, Gertrude Stein, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Edgar Allen Poe and I have one important thing in common. Starting with little or no money, we all achieved success and recognition through self publishing our books. My newest book shows you how to do the same thing with surprising ease!**

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My first book **How To Form Your Own Corporation Without A Lawyer For Under $50** was turned down by several publishers. Since I published this book it has already sold 130,000 copies and is still selling as well as ever!

**THERE IS AT LEAST ONE BOOK IN EVERYONE**

You wouldn't have read this far unless you had an interest in or an idea for a book. I believe in most rational people there is the capacity to write at least one good book, and in a few a great book. Perhaps your book might be based on your childhood, job, hobby, or marriage, or, of course, fiction. How often have you heard, "You ought to write a book," or said "One of these days I'm going to write a book"? Perhaps you've already written a book and have been turned down by publishers. What do you think the chances are of getting a book accepted by a conventional publisher, let alone achieve best seller status?

**YOUR CHANCES OF GETTING PUBLISHED**

Each year in the U.S. there are over 400,000 books written and submitted to publishers. 40,000 of them are published. Your odds are, therefore, 10 to 1 against ever getting published! Of the ones that are published, over 90% never sell out of their first printing, which on the average is only 5,000 copies. In most cases, neither the writer, who usually receives a royalty of 5 to 15%, or the publisher earns much money or gains recognition, if either is a goal.

**ONE PUBLISHING MYTH**

Some writers believe that writing a book is 99% of the task of selling it. These writers believe "word of mouth" will cause it to sell in big quantities. This is mythology. Any book, especially the first one a person writes, needs to be promoted and marketed to best seller status.

**SELF-PUBLISHING — THE ANSWER TO YOUR SUCCESS**

*No one* is as interested as you in the success of your book. Conventional publishers bring out hundreds of books each year. Very few of these books are agressively marketed. It's impossible for them to concentrate on more than a handful. Therefore, an unknown author has little chance of his book selling many copies.

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- How to sell to book stores, libraries, and wholesalers.
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HISTORY

# Open the Gates! By Ehud Avriel
# The Destruction of the European Jews By Raul Hilberg
# While Six Million Died By Arthur D. Morse
# They Fought Back Edited by Yuri Suhl
# The War Against the Jews By Lucy S. Dawidowicz

In 1940 thousands of Jewish refugees—among them my mother's sister—were deported by the Russians to the German zone of Poland, where they were killed. After the invasion of 1941, Russian propaganda invented a mass evacuation of Jews from threatened areas. No such evacuation took place. Those who left on their own were arrested for unauthorized travel and sent to labor camps in Siberia. The rest, except for Communists evacuated with other party members, were left behind to be murdered at Babi Yar and similar places. To protect the myth of the evacuation, Stalin prohibited all mention of Babi Yar in the Soviet press. Some Western historians still accept the fiction of a mass evacuation, just as they ignore the earlier deportations and other Russian, British, and American contributions to the Holocaust.

Paradoxically, the first book to call attention to those contributions was specifically concerned with the Germans: Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews.* Hilberg's meticulously documented study showed that (1) until the outbreak of the war the Germans tried to facilitate emigration of Jews to other continents, under a policy of expelling Jews from Europe; (2) the Germans later tried—unsuccessfully—to establish a reservation for European Jews on Madagascar; (3) "Final Solution" did not come to mean "murder" until after the entry of the USSR and the U.S. into the war eliminated all remaining possibilities for mass emigration; and (4) even then, the Final Solution was territorially restricted to Europe, and Jews who qualified for migration to neutral countries elsewhere were exempt from deportation to death camps. Given these policies, one could conclude that the Allied policy of denying refuge to the victims contributed not only to the extent of the Holocaust, but to the very fact that it took place.

> "Where...shall we put these Jews if Eichmann keeps his word and sends them to the border?"

The story of how the Allies made sure that no refuge would be available began to emerge with Arthur D. Morse's *While Six Million Died.* Morse showed that the FDR administration, going beyond an immigration law that restricted the number of immigrants from Germany to less than 30,000 a year, used various forms of bureaucratic chicanery to hold the actual number admitted between 1933 and 1938 to less than 6000 a year. When American Jewish organizations tried to secure a refuge for Hitler's victims in Latin American countries, the American government imposed currency controls to prevent the transfer of funds necessary to finance their resettlement.

There is no comparable study of Russian and British anti-Jewish measures, but British actions, at least, are documented in two books which deal primarily with other aspects of the Holocaust. Ehud Avriel's *Open the Gates!*, a memoir of his participation in rescue work, shows that the British, unable to deport escapees back to Germany, herded Jews who escaped to their satellites (such as Yugoslavia and Greece) into internment camps located in the path of expected German invasions. Nearby Palestine, whose large Jewish community was eager to welcome the refugees, was a logical refuge until the British closed it by force. The British diverted several warships away from the war effort in order to block the Palestine escape route. After the British frustrated an attempt to ransom a million Hungarian Jews from Eichmann, a British official told a representative of the Jewish Agency, after reiterating the ban on immigration to Palestine: "Where, Mr. Shertok, shall we put these Jews if Eichmann keeps his word and sends them to the border?"

*They Fought Back,* a collection of articles about Jewish resistance, sheds some light on British policies in Poland, where the murder camps were located. The British government turned down, "for technical reasons," requests from Jewish organizations that the murder installations be bombed, even while British planes were dropping thousands of bombs on German cities and supplying planeloads of weapons to the Armia Krajowa, a London-controlled guerilla organization. Several articles report Armia Krajowa murder raids on Jews hiding in Polish forests, although it is not clear whether the orders for these raids came from London.

Morse had no proof that the various antirefugee actions he documented were coordinated with each other, and ascribed them to "apathy." But when Russian and British actions are added to the picture, it is difficult to escape the impression that the Allied governments did everything they could to provoke and exacerbate the Nazi genocide. The results, in any case, are clear. The political goals of FDR and his counterparts hinged on discrediting their isolationist opposition, which could have prevented the establishment of the postwar imperial system. When the evidence of the killings came in, opposition to the war

*(Continued on page 14)*


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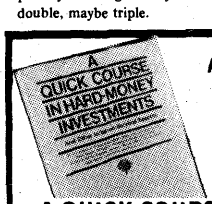


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# NBC ZAPS THE OIL COMPANIES

*Reported as a Public Service by Accuracy in Media, Inc.* (AIM)

**Back in 1971, before he became a Supreme Court justice, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., wrote a memo for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in which he charged that much of our news media, especially television, were allowing the enemies of our free enterprise system to use their facilities to destroy free enterprise. He said: "One of the bewildering paradoxes of our time is the extent to which the enterprise system tolerates, if not participates in, its own destruction."**

Chet Huntley, the late NBC News anchorman, provided a partial explanation for this in an article he wrote for the Wall Street Journal in 1973. He said: "One general characteristic of the American press which seems inexplicable is the basic antipathy towards business and industry which I believe exists in our journalism."

**The following year, Senator Goldwater gave a talk in which he charged that there was a determined effort "to replace 'big, bad' business corporations with government-controlled corporations." He said that one of the important weapons being used in this drive was "the national electronic media networks."**

NBC recently provided a good illustration of these charges. Its flagship station in New York City, WNBC-TV in the week of February 23 aired a series of five programs that purported to tell the viewers why gasoline prices are so high.

The series turned out to be largely an attack on the oil industry, relying on a heavy dose of misinformation and exhibiting a lack of understanding of the free enterprise system. It ended up as a pitch for support of proposals pending in Congress to force the major oil companies to "disintegrate."

## MOBIL OIL STRIKES BACK

**Mobil Oil, one of the few big corporations that has had the courage to confront the media manipulators head-on, responded with a full-page ad in The New York Times which stated bluntly: "WNBC-TV's series last week on gasoline prices was inaccurate, unfair, and a disservice to the people."**

Mobil listed seventeen inaccurate or unfair statements made in the series, each titled in the ad "Hatchet Job," and provided its rejoinder under the heading, "Fact." It was the kind of analysis that AIM has pioneered in—hardhitting, factual rebuttal of specific statements. Exxon also made a detailed analysis of inaccuracies in the series, but this was not published.

Mobil presented WNBC with its criticism of the series and offered to buy thirty minutes of air time to present the other side of the story. WNBC refused to sell the time, but they offered to interview Mobil and Exxon spokesmen live on their evening news show. Mobil declined on the ground that the time was inadequate, but an Exxon spokesman accepted and made a brief rebuttal. WNBC then scheduled a 90-minute program for April 3, providing for a live discussion with oil company representatives and critics.

**Mobil also paid for an ad in many papers pointing out the great difficulty that they and others experience when they try to get access to the news media to respond to inaccurate and unfair reporting. Mobil argued that there was no excuse for the refusal of the networks to provide suitable access for the correction of errors. They said: "We would hope the press (both electronic and print) would have the enlightened self-interest to see the importance of some adequate mechanism if we are indeed to have freedom of the press and not just freedom for the press." They noted that a number of European countries have legislation requiring some form of access for rebuttals. Mobil urged that the American media develop a voluntary mechanism that would promote free and robust debate.**

## AIM DEBATES NBC

Accuracy in Media sent NBC a four-page letter pointing out some of the more serious flaws in the series on gasoline prices. We have received a six-page reply from NBC.

Here are some of the highlights of the debate.

### 1. Was the Embargo a "Rip-off"?

The first program in the series seemed to have as its theme the idea that the gas and oil shortage caused by the Arab embargo in 1973 "was grossly exaggerated, manipulated by the big oil companies who were suddenly reaping huge benefits." To help make this point, WNBC used a lengthy statement from an unidentified man who said the whole thing was a "rip-off" brought about by the oil companies. They cited reports that circulated back in 1973 that large numbers of tankers loaded with oil were standing off the coast, presumably waiting for prices to go up. They brought in a man who explained the shortage in the winter of 1973-74 as a result of the alleged failure of the U.S. oil companies to operate their refineries up to capacity in the first six months of 1972. His idea was that this made us vulnerable to the Arabs so that they had us over a barrel in October 1973.

**In his letter to NBC, Reed Irvine, AIM's chairman, said:**

**"The facts about the exhaustion of surplus oil capacity in the U.S., the resulting increase in bargaining power of the OPEC countries, and the deliberate curtailment of production by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to sustain the cartel prices are too well known to justify repetition of the kind of nonsense that was being spread around at the time of the embargo. The story of the tankers being held off the coast was refuted over two years ago . . . The figures on the reduction of imports are now in the books. There may have been some excuse for confusion in December 1973 about import levels. There is no excuse now.**

**"The charge . . . that the oil companies failed to produce 'as much gasoline and other fuel products' as they were capable of producing in the first six months of 1972 is another discredited charge. We discussed this at length in the AIM Report of January 1974, pointing out that the fuel oil shortage that emerged in 1972 was the direct result of government controls on imports and prices. The industry had been warning the government about this, but to no avail. This reflected the slowness of the government to realize that the situation had changed drastically because of our inability to increase production from our own oil fields and our growing dependence on imports."**

Mr. Irvine pointed out that this situation was corrected in 1972 and that the removal of restrictions on imports led to greatly increased oil imports in 1973, up until the time the embargo hit.

The NBC reply did not dispute AIM's description of the absurdity of the statements they had used to suggest that the 1973 crisis was an oil company "rip-off." Their only defense was they had also presented "the oil company position that the companies had not conspired and that exploration and development had been pursued diligently." This did *not* include specific exposure of the falsity of the statements that had been made, such as the tanker rumor. **AIM's analysis of the transcript showed that 58 lines were devoted to presentation of the false assertions and their elaboration compared to only 18 lines allowed the oil company spokesmen. In other words, 75 per cent of the time was given to misrepresentation.**

It is also worth noting that in this case, as was true throughout the program, WNBC made no effort to use reputable experts, such as consultants, scholars, or government officials to rebut questionable statements. It was always the oil companies against everyone else, a false division.

### 2. Are Oil Company Profits Obscene?

The message in the second program in the series was that the price of gasoline is "largely determined by the internal economics of the nation's giant oil companies" and that the price is high because these companies control every phase of production and distribution and make huge profits. To make the point, WNBC cited the dollar amounts of fourth quarter profits for four large oil companies. These ranged from $132 million for Shell to $633 million for Exxon. They then said: "Industry critics have called these profits obscene. The majors call them inadequate . . ."

AIM pointed out that no effort was made in the program to relate these profits to investors' equity in these companies or to profits in other industries. Mr. Irvine asked how these profits would compare with RCA, which owns NBC, noting that RCA had doubled its profits from the fourth quarter of 1974 to the fourth quarter of 1975. We pointed out that the ratio of profits to investors' equity in the first half of 1975 was about the same in the oil industry as in industry generally. These ratios had declined sharply in 1975 compared to the previous year. It is interesting to note that when oil company profits shot up in 1974, that was big news. Since they declined in 1975, WNBC retained the 1974 rhetoric, "obscene," but used nothing but meaningless absolute dollar figures. It is little wonder that the public has such misconceptions about industry profits.

**The NBC response to this criticism of the way profits were treated is both pathetic and hilarious. They said: "Comparisons with earnings of other industries and the use of ratios and percentages, such as you suggest, would introduce a number of variables, not necessarily analogous. It is a matter of news judgment whether such an approach should be used on a particular television news report."**

**The double talk is funny, but it is sad that a great corporation that has the responsibility for disseminating information to millions of Americans should pretend not to understand the vital importance of presenting information about corporate profits in a way that informs, not misleads. "News judgment" should not be used to defend the indefensible.**

### 3. Are Dealers Abused?

Two programs centered around the theme that gasoline station dealers are caught in a vise controlled by the big oil companies, who won't allow them to make a decent profit and who subject them to intolerable pressures.

AIM criticized these programs for using complaints of two dealers without getting the other side of the story and for failing to give information that would indicate whether the complaints were general throughout the industry or whether the unhappy dealers represented a minority. No interviews with satisfied dealers were aired.

NBC's response was that it would be hard to compile and interpret statistics on dealer complaints. They did not say whether in their research they had encountered any satisfied, thriving dealers. They justified using a complaint by a Mobil dealer without giving the other side by saying that Mobil had declined to be interviewed for the program.

This brings up a very important point. Mobil has explained that they refused to participate in this program because experience had shown that when lengthy interviews were given only tiny portions were used, not fairly presenting their views. In this case, AIM has obtained a transcript of the entire interview that an Exxon official, Vice President DuVal Dickey, gave to WNBC for this program. It demonstrates clearly the validity of the Mobil objection.

**The transcript of Mr. Dickey's interview shows that five pages were devoted to a discussion of relationships between Exxon and its dealers. Mr. Dickey made several important points, such as these:**

(a). Of 24,000 Exxon stations, fewer than 900 are operated directly by Exxon, and the number of the latter has declined sharply because Exxon thinks the performance of independent dealers is better.

(b). The company wants dealers to be successful, because the company's success depends on their success.

(c). Legislation which makes it difficult to terminate contracts with dealers who provide poor service is detrimental to the interests of the consumers and other dealers. A dealer who doesn't give good service will hurt the brand image and this will affect other dealers carrying that brand.

(d). Dealers are being encouraged to move to self-service, because this is what the public wants.

How much of this lengthy interview on dealer relations was used? Just eleven lines out of five pages.

Which of the points made by Mr. Dickey were included in the broadcast? Only the point about the public wanting self-service stations.

**One other statement by Mr. Dickey was used.**

**WNBC showed a service station operator saying this: "These people (the oil company executives) are like—the only difference between them and the hoodlums in the street is that they don't get caught; they're too big."**

**This was followed by this statement taken from the Dickey interview: "It is true, we're not willing to subsidize an economic loss at a marginal station, and we really shouldn't, because it's the final consumer that pays for it if we do."**

It turns out that Mr. Dickey was not asked to comment on the characterization of the oil company executives by the service station operator. He was responding to a question from the narrator, who had asked why so many service stations had been going out of business in recent years and if it was true that this was because the oil companies had been pressuring them.

Mr. Dickey had explained that there are a large number of marginal service stations, many of them small businesses that sell gasoline as a sideline. Many of them had fallen by the wayside because of inflation and product shortages. Part of that perfectly reasonable reply was snatched out of context by WNBC and juxtaposed with the wild charge by the dealer, making it appear that the Exxon executive had made that comment as a reaction to the dealer's statement.

**Is it any wonder that Mobil declined to subject its executives to this kind of treatment?**

### 4. Should the Oil Companies be Broken Up?

The theme of the final program in the series was that there is not enough competition in the oil industry and that the government should be given the power to break up the companies. This is called "divestiture," and legislation requiring it is now before Congress.

**In his letter to NBC, Mr. Irvine pointed out that in the transcript of the concluding program 88 lines were devoted to the advocacy of divestiture compared to 19 lines given to the other side. Those 19 lines were a token bow in the direction of fairness.**

One of the main answers to the argument for divestiture is that the oil industry is far less concentrated than many other industries and is highly competitive. Exxon's DuVal Dickey told WNBC this, saying:

**"Regardless of the speeches you hear from politicians and others, this is a very competitive business. The top company in the gasoline business only has 7 or 8 percent of the market. The top four companies in the United States have less than 30 percent, and the top eight companies have no more than 50 percent of the gasoline market. Now this says you've got to have competition. Look at other industries . . . Look at the national television networks. Three companies have what? Ninety-eight percent of the business, or somewhere in that neighborhood."**

WNBC did not use that statement, or any similar statement. Instead, they quoted Mr. Dickey saying: "Thank goodness we are big, because nobody else can do it except a big industry and big companies or a big government."

WNBC's narrator, Liz Trotta, concluded the program with a statement that exposed the reason for all the distortion and misrepresentation that went into the series. She said:

**"So it may come to pass that the major oil companies will be forced to give up their hold on the industry, forced to divest themselves of their power and their control.** *This could be a long-awaited break for the consumer,* **but don't bet on it."**

We can only conclude that the whole series was an ill-disguised effort to mobilize public support for the divestiture legislation, propagandizing the idea that this would be a "break for the consumer."

NBC did not deny that the final program was overwhelmingly weighted on the side of the divestiture arguments. They said the failure to provide figures on the degree of concentration in the oil industry compared with other industries and on the degree of government regulation now existing was "news judgment." The explanation of Ms. Trotta's concluding editorial pitch was: "The comment in essence was that significant government action if it could benefit the consumer was in any event unlikely."

As Ms. Trotta herself said in the program, the divestiture bill last year "lost by a hair." NBC in its six-page reply to our letter has given us no reason to change our opinion that the series was part of a campaign on their part to eliminate that margin this year.

**Mr. Benjamin Raub, the author of the NBC reply, concluded saying: "Regardless of your reaction to the series, we are sure you will agree that it has contributed to the robust discussion which the U.S. Supreme Court viewed as a paramount role of the news media . . ."**

**To which we reply: Yes, Mr. Raub. One side of the argument was liberally aired over WNBC-TV at no cost to the proponents. The other side has had to be expressed in paid ads in newspapers and in articles such as this. While you have offered two oil companies a brief appearance on WNBC-TV, as a result of their vigorous protests against the unfairness of the original program, we do not think that this was exactly the kind of robust debate the Supreme Court had in mind in the Red Lion decision. That decision, as you know, upheld the constitutionality of the fairness doctrine, which requires that the** *broadcasters* **treat controversial issues evenhandedly. The Court expected both sides in the robust debate to be given an opportunity to use the facilities which you have been licensed to operate.**

**To suggest that you are carrying out the mandate of the Court by airing such a lopsided and misleading program that it provoked outraged protests from the victims is to mock the Court and make a travesty of the fairness doctrine. How about breaking up the clique at NBC that is responsible for this type of unfair and misleading program?**

## A SMALL VICTORY

We heard via the grapevine that NBC had originally planned to feed this anti-business program to its affiliates. It did not do so. We presume that the strong protests had something to do with his decision.

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SOCIOBIOLOGY

# Sociobiology: The New Synthesis

## By Edward Wilson

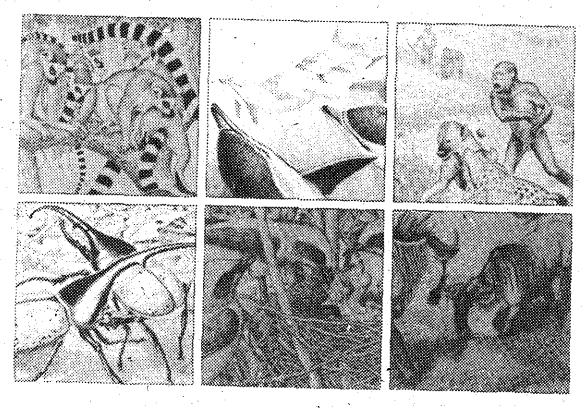
Edward Wilson attempts a synthesis of the field of sociobiology, "the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior." Recently, popular works in this area have gained widespread currency (e.g., Lorenz' *On Aggression* and Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative* and *The Social Contract*). These have been useful for presenting material in social biology to the general public in a readable, accessible manner. Unfortunately, this salutary end has been undercut by severe shortcomings. Wilson's *Sociobiology* is a challenging opus, but it is worth the interested reader's efforts.

To understand social behavior in any species, Wilson emphasizes the necessity of considering two major factors: phylogenetic inertia and ecological pressure. The former, the genetic heritage of a species, is a conservative influence and the latter a change-inducing influence. To predict social organization within a species, one would have to possess basic knowledge of these two elements. In the first part of the book, Wilson outlines basic principles of social evolution. In the second part, he covers social mechanisms (e.g., communication, aggression, social spacing, dominance hierarchies, parental care, and the like). Finally, he examines what he calls the four pinnacles of social evolution: colonial invertebrates, social insects, nonhuman mammals, and *Homo sapiens*. The coverage of these topics is encyclopedic. The basic end is to explain the existence of social behavior in its different forms.

The overall coverage of sociobiology cannot be summarized in so brief a space. However, it is important to mention Wilson's belief that the central theoretical problem of sociobiology is the explanation of altruism (individual sacrifice for the good of the larger group). Each of the four pinnacles expresses altruism differently and in varying degrees. The nonhuman mammals appear to have the lowest degree and the colonial invertebrates the highest. Man, according to Wilson, "has achieved an extraordinary degree of cooperation with little or no sacrifice of personal survival and reproduction." One mechanism for this may be reciprocal altruism—good Samaritan behavior. In cases of reciprocal altruism, the individual helps others even if there is no immediately forthcoming benefit. An example might be a person who tries to save the life of a drowning man. The first person faces a certain amount of risk in doing this and gains no immediate payoff. Such behavior, however, may increase the probability that later the good Samaritan himself might be rescued by another person. If, by helping others, one increases the chances that one will be helped by others in the future, there would be selective advantage in such behavior under certain circumstances. Wilson believes that human behavior "abounds with reciprocal altruism consistent with genetic theory."

Although an outstanding volume, there remain some problems with this work. First, Wilson tends to downplay and oversimplify some major theoretical issues. Second, there have been some important omissions. Third, his chapter on human society contains a number of non sequiturs.

Wilson discusses briefly the nature-nurture problem. He says, "Some recent writers have attempted to skirt the issue altogether by declaring it a nonproblem and refusing to continue the instinct-learning dichotomy as part of modern language. Actually, the distinction remains a useful one, and the semantic issues can be cleared up rather easily." In fact, however, Wilson does not clear them up easily. Since his emphasis is on society rather than the individual, this issue is not as serious as it might otherwise be. His problem is equating genetic influence with developmental rigidity in an animal. That is, because some behavior pattern is under genetic control, it is assumed that that behavior cannot be modified much in the animal's lifetime. The work of Schneirla, Lehrman, and Gottlieb demonstrates that the relationship between




genes and behavior is much more complex than this.

An example of the second problem would be the omission of the recent work on "language acquisition" in chimpanzees. Wilson emphasizes the enormous gap between man and other animals in communication abilities. The emerging evidence from the work of Premack, the Gardners, von Glasersfeld, and others suggests that chimpanzees may have greater capabilities than could have been anticipated before. Although Wilson refers obliquely to these studies, he largely ignores them. This appears to be an almost inevitable outgrowth of the ambitious scope which Wilson essays.

He completes his analysis of human social biology with the observation: "When mankind has achieved an ecological steady-state, probably by the end of the twenty-first century, the internalization of social evolution will be nearly complete." The notion of an ecological steady-state is a non sequitur. Other portions of this chapter also are somewhat unconvincing. A basic conclusion does seem inescapable, though: Wilson's assertion that the social sciences will flower fully only when social evolution is integrated into the study of man.

Some critics have assailed Wilson's final chapter as disguised Social Darwinism, an attempt to justify human behavior and society as it is as natural. This is the danger of the "naturalistic fallacy," concluding that what is should be. However, it would appear that this is a misplaced criticism. First, the model of social evolution provides for change. Second, Wilson discusses in several places the role of human intelligence in directing the species' future development.

There are some interesting suggestions in this volume that might gladden the hearts of different libertarians. Libertarians of all stripes are often attacked by critics for their overly sanguine view of human nature. If, however, one accepts Wilson's speculation about man's altruistic impulses, then underlying assumptions of different species of libertarians may have a natural wellspring. One must emphasize, of course, that Wilson's arguments are suggestive and not conclusive.

First, anarcho-communists would no doubt be delighted at some of these implications. One might well argue that Wilson has, in some senses, brought Peter Kropotkin up to date (at least as Kropotkin examined human nature as inherently cooperative). Some would say that Kropotkin would be vindicated and man's mutual aid tendencies given natural sanction.

On the other hand, anarcho-capitalists and laissez faire liberals could also use Wilson's work for suggestive insights into a natural basis for free market principles and the invisible hand. Reciprocal altruism seems to have potential value in explaining why the free market could lead to a stable, satisfactory society in which people at large would benefit.

These are brief suggestions of possible ways in which Wilson's *Sociobiology* might be useful for libertarians of different persuasions. Further exploration of the implications might be a promising path.

Although it is a difficult work, featuring the extensive use of mathematical models, *Sociobiology* should be of interest for several reasons: its ambitious attempt to synthesize materials from different areas into a general perspective on sociobiology, its presentation of basic material on actual behavior of animals, and its potential for the study of human social behavior. Thus, despite some problems, this is a volume well worth examining. **Reviewed by Steven A. Peterson / Harvard University Press, 1975 / $20**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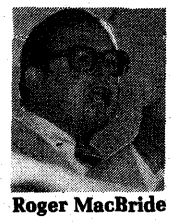
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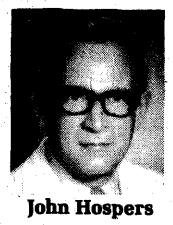
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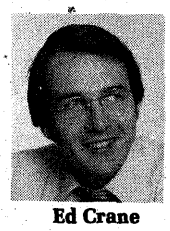
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# The Man Who Would Be King

**Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard**

*The Man Who Would Be King* is—O happy day!—a real "movie-movie," that is, a picture with an exciting plot and characters whom one can identify with and who develop through the action of the plot. It is a joyous romp, an artful blend of humor and old-fashioned melodrama combined with the excellent ensemble acting and the myriad flashes and subtleties of insight that mark a great film director.

In this picture, indeed, the veteran director John Huston returns to the great movie-movies of his golden days. And, *mirabile dictu,* he has not only been faithful to Rudyard Kipling's short story of the same name, but he has actually improved on that story by adding fascinating touches and sociopolitical insights, all faithful, however, to the spirit of the tale.

The movie is set in Kipling's British India of the late nineteenth century; it opens as Kipling himself, a newspaperman in India at the time, meets the two lovable rogues, Sean Connery and Michael Caine, who play the central roles in the story. The Kipling character, brilliantly played by Christopher Plummer, is both catalyst and Chorus to the drama. Connery and Caine, leaving the British army under a cloud, decide to trek northward to an unknown land on the Indian frontier where, to use the old cliche, "no white man has ever trod." The object: to make themselves kings of this native land by introducing British military techniques and by their own eye to the main chance. The ultimate aim of the adventure: to make their fortune. When they reach the ancient land, they manage to get themselves accepted not only as rulers but as gods. In a vast improvement over the original Kipling story, the process by which Connery is hailed as a god and Caine as his top aide is spelled out: by accident, an arrow hitting Connery in battle strikes a medal over his chest and therefore draws no blood; the natives promptly hail him as a god, indeed as the "son" of Alexander the Great, the previous white man who had come to and conquered this distant land many centuries before. The natives' religion, indeed, had focussed all during this time on awaiting the return of the divine Alexander through his son.

In a fascinating hint of sociopolitical analysis, Huston shows that the monkish priests of the country, who rule the roost from their mountain monastery-city fastness, are highly reluctant to cede their rule to the new white god. They are convinced, however by Connery's Masonic emblem, the very emblem enshrined in the priests' sacred rites. It is a hilarious and delightful commentary on the allegedly mysterious and ancient history of the Masonic Order.

Having been accepted by the priests, Connery finds himself a god-king of the land, with Caine as the general of his army. The two adventurers find themselves absolute rulers, not only of the newly united country but also of a vast treasure of gold and jewels. After a period of such rule, Caine begins to agitate for them to fulfill their original purpose, to take the treasure and nip back to civilization. But Connery has come to "grow" into his kingly role, considers himself the ruler of "his" people, and even begins to believe in the mystique of his destiny and his alleged sonship to Alexander the Great.

Not only has Connery abandoned his original purpose, but he meets his doom when he decides to violate the solemn contract that he and Caine had made with each other: not to have anything to do with native women—made on the well-founded assumption that sex with the natives will spell trouble. But Connery, in his hubris of power, wants a queen to found a line of god-kings, and so he orders marriage with a native woman. Officially, the protest and resistance of the priests and the native population comes from their view that a god cannot mate with a human woman without causing her death. But there is more to it than that. At the marriage ceremony, the native woman bites Connery on the neck—an act clearly engineered by the priests. The flowing blood demonstrates that Connery is not a god, and he is savagely executed by the priests. The mark of a great movie and a great director, is subtlety rather than the typical Hollywood heavy underlining of "messages"; and the subtle point is that the priests execute Connery by sending him off on a rope bridge that he had constructed and then cutting the ropes. For Connery had constructed this bridge, which had made the monastery-capital city accessible to the masses, had cheapened the cost of transportation, and was in the process of developing a newly prosperous class of bourgeoisie who would eventually threaten the feudal caste-rule of the priests. Hence the vengeful joy with which the priests cut down the hated bridge.

Many critics have attacked *The Man Who Would Be King* as "sexist," in that the hero Connery is brought to his doom by a female. This critique, however, totally misses the point, namely that Connery doomed himself through adopting the hubris of power. It was the seduction of power that went to his head, that lost him his original moorings, and that cost him his life. As in classic tragedy, the hero is brought low by his own "tragic flaw." The critics also miss the vital role of the priestly ruling caste and their assault on the technological

*(Continued on page 15)*


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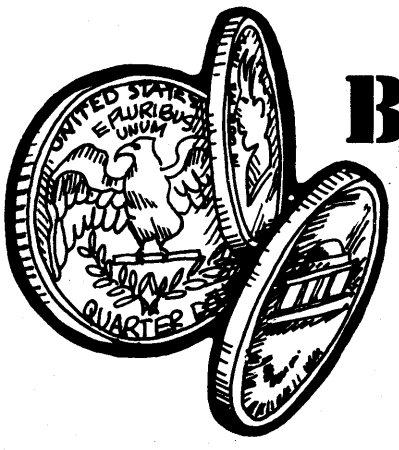


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# Twilight of Authority

HISTORY/POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

## By Robert Nisbet

Robert Nisbet's important new work begins with the analysis that modern society is characterized by the cultivation of power shaped by military forms. ("Over everything hangs the specter of war.") War and militarization of society are the means of transcending domestic divisions and economic contradictions. "If there were no other indicator, the impact of war and of the military on the West, especially since about 1940, would be sufficient."

However, Nisbet insists that the roots of this development started early in history:

> But what I want to point out in this section is the vital affinity between war and the Western state. The state is born of war and its unique demands. Those social evolutionists who have tried to derive the political state as a development from kinship—that is, as the emergent of household, kindred, or clan—have simply not recognized the issues involved. The first political figure in history is not the patriarch but *military leader.* The history of every people of which we have record demonstrates that the first and greatest of all role-conflicts in history is that between head of household and clan on the one hand and, on the other, military chieftain.

Nisbet quotes Randolph Bourne that war is the health of the state, and he sees this as logical since "the state was nothing more, basically, than an institutionalization of the war-making power." From war he derives the communist concept. It was the war band, not the kinship community, from which the system of communism developed.

Ancient military government achieved its highest form in the state capitalism or the bureaucratic warfare-welfare state of imperial Rome. Although the Roman Empire fell by internal resistance from native populations and the migrating populations that settled within it, imperial concepts reemerged in European society in the late Middle Ages. Roman law was adopted as the mechanism by which the centralized political states of Europe were brought into existence during the Renaissance. "Roman Law of the Empire is at bottom the law necessary to keep armies constantly in the field, properly supplied and replenished in the battles which were fought at every outpost." Noting the revival of Roman law in European universities, Paul Vinogradov noted that it was "bound to appeal to the pioneers of the state conception, to ambitious emperors, grasping territorial princes, reforming legists, and even clerical representatives of law and order." Nisbet sees in Roman law the distinctively Western idea that law rather than being a "reflection of social reality is a powerful means of *accomplishing* reality, that is , of fashioning, making it." Traditionally law is not made—there is no legislative function—but discovered, transmitted among jurists. The prefeudal English common law is part of that tradition, and Nisbet suggests greater attention should be given to legal scholarship highlighting the strong Roman law influences in England. Certainly, there were strong institutional, especially taxing, influences from the Late Roman imperial forms of the Byzantine and Arab institutions of Norman Sicily.

I find myself in disagreement with Nisbet's failure to distinguish between Roman public law and private law. Private law contributed to the development of contract and its requirement of freedom from restraint and willing assent. Its logical development is the negation of the concept of the state and its sovereignty. Roman public law was what built the modern state. It was built by the destruction of nonstatist medieval society by the use of the weapon of sovereignty. The medieval associations, kinships, communities, and customary relationships were dismembered and destroyed to create the modern state. "Such entities had nothing but memory and tradition in most instances to vindicate their right to their being and their holdings, land included. Never mind the diverse motives behind enclosures and other acts of expropriation; these ranged from capitalist cupidity to political aggrandizement. The important point is that such acts were legitimized, often even inspired, by prinicples of Roman Law."

The purpose of this destruction of medieval entities was to better tax. Lands were taken from kinship groups and associations that traditionally had immunities from taxation and were placed in the hands of government supporters in lieu of payments from taxes and as a source of future taxes. Everyone was made a subject of the state in order to better tax them. Roman public law negated the individualism that was protected by the medieval immunities of kinship and associational groups.

Nisbet associates rationalism with Roman public law. By this he means the rationality and calculation by which state sovereignty achieved its objectives of taxing the money and the persons of the population for state-making, and especially state war-making. In order to undertake war, for which Roman law was most advantageous, new models of economic organization were necessary. "Marx himself was struck by the fact that the earliest manifestation of the capitalist wage system lay in the kinds of military organization which succeeded the knighthood. . . .

> "Under FDR, the wedding of the military and academic communities was completed."

The model the military provided industry and state alike in its regimented masses of individuals, its use of barracks, its ingrained discipline, its secularism, and its whole envisagement of society as a kind of inverted pyramid of power was made all the easier to communicate by the residual concepts of Roman Law." Since Roman law's value was to strengthen the state's taxing power to support the military, the state developed the earliest large scale industrial establishments to furnish military and naval weapons.

Nisbet sees a connection between intellectuals and war since the Renaissance. "The state originated in circumstances of war and has never been very far from the planning or the execution of war. Politically minded intellectuals have been perforce military intellectuals in substantial degree, a fact sufficiently attested to by a long and imposing line of Western intellectuals that includes Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, and Marx." Politically minded intellectuals support power which is the cause of disorder. But Nisbet seeks the reason for nonpolitically minded intellectuals' support for war. Further analysis should be given to possible connections between literary subjectivism and intellectuals' "fascination with the kinds of leadership, heroism, and unity we are more likely to find in war than in peace." He believes that intellectuals are upset by the profits, competition, and tensions of day-to-day living and of the marketplace, which they see as antagonistic to the subjective leadership and heroism they admire. But heroism is based on power, so there is "individualism" of power. Everyday life is not exciting or heroic, so the individualism of peaceful existence is denied the title individualism; by negating the individualism of peaceful existence, by regimentation and taxation, a heroic "individualism" of power can be created around crises. Nisbet concludes: "when it comes to a choice between the banality and anti-heroic nature of the market place and the heady opportunities of crisis, especially military crisis, the decision is not hard to make. Most certainly when there is an Augustus, Cromwell, Napoleon, Churchill, or FDR to serve."

Nisbet concentrates on the politicalization of the American inteilectual since World War I, compared to which he finds nothing similar in the western world. He holds that the West's "first real experience with totalitarianism" began with "the American war state under Woodrow Wilson." The war was essentially a remodeling of American society—the manufacture of a new nation—with the actual combat a secondary feature. Historic American concepts of individualism, local autonomies, and traditional roles were replaced with collectivism, centralism, efficiency, and exciting national goals. Radicalism and liberalism before World War I were directed toward individualism and autonomy; World War I brought a reform movement dedicated to centralism and collectivism. The traditions of voluntary association, grass roots and pluralism, "ranging from anarchist utopianism to the special form of socialism that characterized, for example, Eugene Debs and the editors of *The Masses,* disappeared with the war. A very different spirit, rooted in the centralized power of the national government and which in a sense took war-society minus war as its ideal of planned economy, replaced the older one. It is easy to see this new intellectual pattern developing slowly through the 1930s."

Nisbet seeks to discover the role of the intellectuals in the manufacture of a new nation and why they accepted that role:

> For America to have moved from a position of isolationist pacificism so suddenly to the kind of passionate intensity of collective purpose that was so evident by 1917 can be explained only by, first, devotion of a great many intellectuals and artists themselves to war and, second, by their unique capacity for whipping up similar devotion on the part of ever larger aggregates of the population. . . . Wilson badly needed the assistance of the intellectuals, for opposition to American entry was formidable in almost all parts of the country. . . . If an army was to be manufactured for export to Europe in a war that a very large number of the American people considered none of America's business, then a new nation had to be manufactured: economically, politically, culturally, and, not least, psychologically. A whole new set of mind must be created on a mass level. And if popular consciousness was to be transformed, there must be superbly articulated instruments fashioned for this herculean labor. Who but intellectuals could have fashioned, could have *become,* these instruments? To this day I think few people, even American historians, have an adequate conception of what took place in the intellectual class, and between the intellectual class and the American public, from 1917 to about 1920.

World War I under Wilson created a romance with war and with crises, relations, and structures connected to war. Industries, railroads, telephone, and the crucial Atlantic cables were taken over by the federal government. Conscription, price, profit, and wage controls were imposed, and the right to strike and organize was limited. Free press and free speech were inhibited; sedition trials were widespread. "World War I was America's first plunge into a form of socialism or near-socialism (or, as many astute and informed minds came to realize later, after the



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word had become available through Mussolini's Italy, Fascism or near-Fascism), and it may be assumed that opportunities were abundant for intellectuals." Nisbet underlines the World War I origins of New Deal agencies and administrators, and the "extraordinary likeness" of the New Deal and Nazi Germany due to the common World War I experience on which both drew. "In terms of frequency of use of [war] symbols by the national government not even Hitler's Germany outdid our propagandists."

Thus, when World War II arrived, the intellectuals were fully in support of American intervention, and with it, the full militarization of the American mind. The art of information management developed during the New Deal was completed during World War II. "FDR's clandestine investigation through the FBI of political opponents on the matter of America's entry into the war after 1939 was only one of several distinctly transpolitical acts." Nisbet considers the emergence of the transpolitical a significant American development. Americans, having experienced the effects of statist foreign policy under England, saw after the American Revolution that they must avoid foreign entanglements and war if they were to avoid all the aspects of statism that Nisbet so graphically describes arising in modern Europe. Having embarked on the war cycle, the military society took on all the attributes of traditional European statism. In place of the right of dissent, the unitary state concept held that the ruler could do to domestic enemies what rulers traditionally could do to foreign enemies. War became the model for domestic political debate. This is the transpolitical Nisbet describes as having reached high intensity during the Vietnam War.

Under FDR, the wedding of the military and academic communities was completed. Nisbet uses the example of Project Camelot in Chile to show how academics helped military intelligence plan secret activities to prevent the success of those opposed by the American and Chilean military establishments. The academics held that "the Army was an ideal instrument for bringing reform, humanitarianism, and democratic culture to the underprivileged abroad." High academics were involved from the beginning of America's involvement in Vietnam and were at the forefront of the escalation of involvement under Kennedy and Johnson. Then, when the war became unwinnable, high academics broke with support of the war in the face of opposition in the universities. Nisbet asks, "Would this hand-washing, this collective self-purification, ever have taken place had there been not the New Left? I am wholly skeptical that it would." Those high academics were derived from the Old Left, which saw in the political state a religious sacredness. Nisbet sees in the New Left of the 1960s and the broader youth culture that has become a leading influence on the at-large population an antipolitical, antibureaucratic radicalism like nineteenth century radicalism and unlike the bureaucratism of the Old Left. With the failure of the post-World War II New Conservatism and of Chicago School economics to challenge political bureaucratism, Nisbet saw the New Left as challenging the politicalization of mind in America. The New Left "also spurned, at least in the beginning, the political centralization and bureaucratization which had become hallmarks of the left up to that point. Not Marx but Proudhon was king; or if Marx it was the 'humanistic' Marx of the Paris years that the New Left welcomed, not the Marx of *Capital* or *Criticism of the Gotha Program.*"

The current conservative movement is found wanting by Nisbet: "The prospects for conservatism are hardly bright. It became great by virtue of its fight for capture of power, central power." Nisbet contrasts the Actonian "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" with conservatism's emphasis on aggression. He finds it defined more "by what adversaries do and say than by anything that comes from philosophy or principles." He feels that conservatism has been fatally wounded by passivity to the moral delinquencies of the government. "Can one imagine either a Burke or a Nock being other than revolted by every aspect of Watergate, its flouting of morality and its consecration of arbitrary power?"

In his opposition to current conservatism, Nisbet praises traditional conservatism, originating with Edmund Burke, which reacted against the rationalism and abolition of privileges advocated by liberals. He emphasizes conservatism's defense of social pluralism and of the traditional family, religion, community, and institutions that preceded the eighteenth century revolutions. "During the past two centuries mankind has undergone the most traumatic social change it has experienced since the beginnings of settled culture in the Neolithic age. I refer to the decline–even disappearance in spreading sections–of the local community, the dislocation of kinship, and the erosion of the sacred in human affairs." He believes that the revolutions of the late eighteenth century have had incalculable destructive effects on traditional life: "Very different, however, has been the case since the onset of the two great revolutions of modern times: the democratic and the industrial at the end of the eighteenth century. Unlike all preceding changes in human history, these revolutions went below the superstructure of society, went right to man's most ancient and cherished sources of identity. With the rise of the factory system and the mass electorate, there was inevitably a wrenching of the individual from his accustomed family, local, and religious contexts," The deferential society which was rooted in feudal privileges was destroyed. Modern man, his society and his culture were totally transformed:

> The increasing isolation of the individual in electorate and marketplace carried with it a large literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that, in effect, justified it. An individualistic psychology found the basic springs of human stability, of motivation, and of freedom in the biologically inherited nature of man. Economics, with its celebration of enlightened self-interest and what Adam Smith called 'the instinct to truck and barter,' its envisagement of society as little more than a scene of conflicting individual forces, and its general neglect of the moral and the social, was a perfect intellectual analogy to what was going on in the institutional sphere. Moral philosophy took refuge in a highly individualistic utilitarianism. . . . There were exceptions, among them Burke, Coleridge, Hegel, and Tocqueville, but they were few.

"The current conservative movement is found wanting by Nisbet."

Nisbet has a strong antipathy to the conservatism of Plato, Machievelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Bentham, and Austin, which is based on political power. Although not convinced that the political state's negation, individual autonomy, is possible, he is impressed by the liberalism of Locke, Smith, and J.S. Mill, with its emphasis on the free individual's "liberation from political and military bonds." It is against those bonds, the political community that is justified in Plato's communism, that the tradition is associated that begins with Aristotle and continues through Nisbet's major influences: Cicero, Thomas Aquinas, Bodin, Burke, Tocqueville, Burckhardt, Proudhon, and Albert Jay Nock. Nisbet finds that these distinguished between social institutions and the political state, and saw freedom, not as emanating from a constitution, but from the strength of the social institutions resisting the state:

> I believe this second tradition, stretching, as I saw, from Aristotle down to Burke, Tocqueville, Acton, and to some of the anarchists of the nineteenth century, is by far the more relevant to the needs of our own time. . . . There are two separate and distinctive manifestations in the nineteenth century of this second, social, tradition of Western thought. The first is conservative, the second is radical, but what they have in common is profound belief in the necessity of protection of the social from the political. Whether it is Burke and von Haller among conservatives, or Proudhon and Kropotkin among radicals, there is identical emphasis upon the values of localism, regionalism, voluntary association, decentralization of authority, and also identical fear of the political state, whether monarchical or republican in character.

Along with Wilhelm von Humboldt, J.S. Mill, and Acton, Nisbet gives particular praise to the French Catholic Liberals of the early nineteenth century, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Tocqueville, the study of whom has been almost a void among libertarians. (Important parallel reading would be Yehoshua Arieli's *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology,* which I have been recommending for a decade.)

Nisbet views the anarchists as the major philosophers who successfully answer advocates of centralization of the state and collectivism. "In many ways the most interesting of all such groups in the nineteenth century is that which has come to be called the anarchist." Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin emphasized the smaller patriotism of parish, guild, and cooperative association. "But in the works of the anarchist, from Proudhon's day to ours, and nowhere stated more profoundly and encompassingly than in Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and *Fields, Factories and Workships,* it is precisely on the foundations of such groups, each with maximum autonomy of function and authority, that the edifice of the free society is to be built."

I have doubts about the simplicity of the relationship of the growth of individualism and the growth of the state that Nisbet presents. The growth of state power did not lessen the effectiveness of communities, guilds, and families but incorporated them into the control structure of the state. For example, the patriarchal family may have been strengthened by the increase in state power. In place of the nonpatriarchial medieval family, the state gave full force of law to Hebraic patriarchy and set aside the antipatriarchy of Christ's teaching of the primacy and equality of the conjugal couple. The "perpetual childhood" for women in the patriarchal family was a model for the "perpetual childhood" of the people imposed by the state. Whatever may have been the character of the pre-eighteenth-century-revolution communities, et cetera, however, Nisbet is correct to emphasize the importance of the voluntary associations of the nineteenth century not only in the solution of problems but in the development of strategies to resist the state.

Nisbet would like to see the rediscovery of the foundations of social science in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries wherein the self-regulating economy was paralleled by the self-regulating social process, which similarly excluded political intervention. From "Adam Smith, David Ricardo, August Comte, Haller, Mill, and Maine, down through Le Play, Durkeim, Geddes, Weber, Spencer, and Sumner" Nisbet presents the original social scientists for whom the state was an accidental institution of which one should be skeptical. In this, as in the other topics he discusses, Nisbet sets forth major channels of inquiry for his readers; his book is an outline for new ways of investigating modern society and modern thought. **Reviewed by Leonard P. Liggio / Oxford University Press, 1975 / $10.95**



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SCIENCE/POLITICS

# Unready Kilowatts: The High Tension Politics of Ecology

## By Gary Farmer

We are now witnessing what must surely be one of the greatest brainwashing campaigns of all times. Even its name, "the nuclear debate," is false, for there is no debate, only a monologue. The perpetrators of this monologue callously ignore the human lives saved by nuclear power as it replaces far more dangerous and harmful fossil-burning plants; they deliberately mislead people into believing that a nuclear explosion in a power plant is possible (it isn't); they tout nuclear wastes as a bogey when in fact waste disposal is the prime reason why nuclear plants are safer and environmentally sounder than fossil-burning plants; they write books called *We Almost Lost Detroit* when the reason why we never even came close to losing Detroit is a testimonial to the defense in depth against radioactive release (the danger never got past the first line of defense). And so on and on—the main tactic of the antinuclear zealots is to make ten-second statements that it takes a half-hour lecture to refute.

Gary Farmer's book is excellent for throwing light onto some of these silenced issues. It deals with electric power (mainly nuclear), with the unreason of the environmental extremists, and with the damage they do to both society and environment. Although by now Nader and other "environmentalists" have practically stopped pretending that their motives are environmental (rather than political and ideological), the book is still highly recommendable.

> "...the main tactic of the antinuclear zealots is to make ten-second statements that it takes a half-hour lecture to refute."

There are at least two things that make this book outstanding. One is that the author is not merely a run-of-the-mill radiologist, but an expert who has had unusually wide practical experience. A Doctor of Veterinary Medicine, he has had many years of first-hand experience in observing and treating radiological effects on animals on the Nevada test range; he is also an expert in the disposal and degradation of nuclear and chemical poisons.

Unlike Ehrlich, Brower, Nader, and the other nuclear semiliterates, Farmer thus knows what he is talking about. It is, of course, not difficult to refute Ehrlich's elementary blunders, but how about radiologists and nuclear scientists like Gofman, Tamplin, or Sternglass?

Farmer deals with some of the figures they have presented (some of them in error by a cool million), and with the outrage they have caused among their fellow scientists. It is perhaps a sick sign of the times that when the Health Physics Society, a professional organization of 3400 members devoted to protecting man from the harmful effects of radiation, recently endorsed nuclear power after decades of careful evaluation, the news did not make a single network or wire service, the very same media that are ever open to the "science" fiction by Gofman, Tamplin, and a handful of other mediocrities who have found a shortcut to glory.

The other reason why this book is important is that Farmer sees not only the technical issues of the coming power shortage, but the underlying ideological issues as well. He is a merciless opponent of government meddling and clearly sees its contribution in preparing the energy crisis. He also clearly sees the threat by "a small group of ecology radicals whose goal is . . . the economic strangulation of the American people."

Since the book was written, that threat has increased, as witnessed by the nuclear initiative hoaxes now being pushed in several states. Farmer's book is one that will help the reader to discern fact from fiction and technical issues from callous lust for power.
**Reviewed by Petr Beckmann / Open Court, 1975 / $11.95**


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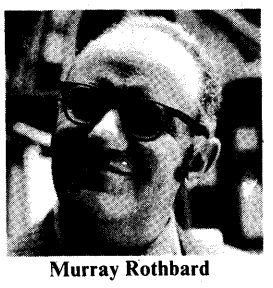
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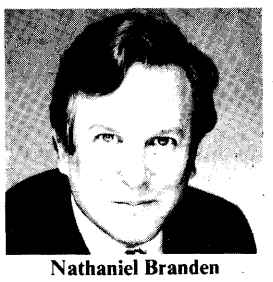
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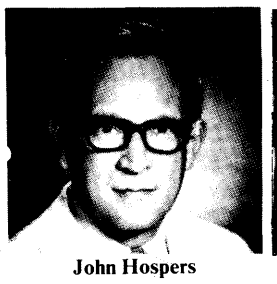
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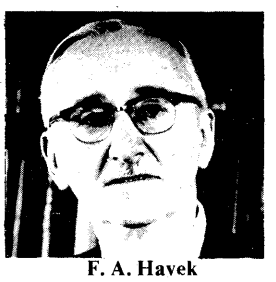
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**Tape No. 216 THE FUTURE OF LIBERTARIANISM** / Murray Rothbard, author, lecturer, and professor of economics at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, is a leading influence on libertarian development. In this lecture, he analyzes where the libertarian movement is headed in the face of rising statism. **(85 Min. / $10.95)**

**Tape No. 300 U.S. POLICY GUARANTEES INFLATION** / F. A. Hayek, economist, philosopher, and political theorist, was a recipient of the 1974 Nobel laureate in economics. On this tape, the world's most prominent free market economist warns of the consequences of U.S. monetary and fiscal policy, and suggests solutions to the problem. Hayek also explains how Keynesian thought got a foothold, and he provides an incisive critique of the Keynesian theory. **(38 Min. / $9.95)**

**Tape No. 200 THE LIBERTARIAN TEMPERAMENT** / Professor John Hospers, 1972 presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party, Chairman of the University of Southern California's School of Philosophy, author and lecturer, contrasts the bureaucratic and libertarian temperaments. The bureaucrat is supposed to provide a service, but his actions usually only interfere with the production of goods and services. He is the wielder of coercive power over the lives of other men.

Libertarians are people who don't want to be beholden to anyone or vice versa. They desire to be sole guardians of their lives. They do not seek to oppress, nor do they want to be oppressed, since, Hospers points out, oppression is an unnatural condition.

Hospers' analysis of the underlying philosophy of libertarianism in contrast to that of bureaucrats and academicians is effectively demonstrated through dozens of vivid examples. Truly an excellent, informative tape. **(50 Min. / $9.95)**

**Tape No. 206 VICTIMLESS CRIMES** / Nathaniel Branden is well known as the author of *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, *Breaking Free* and, most recently, *The Disowned Self*.

Branden denies libertarianism as a moral-political position concerned with the rights and freedom of the individual. Its basic tenet is that it is morally wrong to initiate force against anyone. Most people, he feels, have no quarrel, unfortunately, with initiating force, they merely differ over which ideas to enforce on society.

One example of forcing ideas on others arises when society declares the illegality of certain actions by an individual which do not involve harm to or coercion for anyone else, which are crimes only by definition of law—victimless crimes. To the libertarian these laws make no sense, since crime cannot be properly viewed outside the context of coercion of one individual by another. The libertarian holds that moral interference where consenting adults are involved is wrong when no one else is injured. Branden then notes the relationship of interference by society in moral questions with interference in the economic sphere.

Examples of crimes in the victimless category are those against marijuana, regulation of sexual practices, etc. Branden also discusses the concept of involuntary commitment of so-called mental patients. He notes the importance of applying the basic libertarian principle of the wrongness of coercion uniformly to problems. **(58 Min. / $9.95)**

**Tape No. 155 WHY SOCIALISM ALWAYS FAILS** / In this, the only authorized tape recording of the late Ludwig von Mises, he sums up a lifetime of study of socialism and proves beyond any doubt that capitalism is the only system that allows man to unleash his creative powers. **(86 Min. / $9.95)**

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**Tape No. 186 LIBERTARIANS DEBATE WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** / John Hospers and Roy Childs, both well-known libertarians, define Socialism as the imposition of centralized planning and coercion on the entire population, resulting in a life planned "not by you, but for you." The real test of a nation's freedom is stated as how much one is allowed to do without government interference. In this debate with two members of the Socialist Workers Party, libertarianism is described as the idea that the individual is supreme—that no one has the right to run another's life or make decisions for him. **(132 Min. / $20.90)**

**Tape No. 172 THE ETHICS OF LIBERTARIANISM** / Professor of economics at Baruch College, Libertarian Party nominee for New York State Assembly in 1972, Walter Block is well known among libertarians. He defines libertarianism as "the philosophical view that it is immoral to commit aggression against non-aggressors." He further explains that what sets libertarians apart is the consistency with which they apply their principles. For example, the libertarians oppose the draft as violating the concept of one's rights to his body. He opposes taxation as a form of robbery and offers sound arguments to prove that many services performed by the state—the postal service, for example—could be handled more efficiently through private means. There is humor here and interest too. **(41 Min. / $9.95)**

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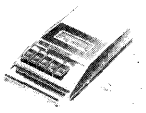

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**Spring**—*(Continued from page 1)*

At least three methods exist ("Modern Reading," "Ball Stick-Bird." "Organic Reading") by which children—including Mongoloids with IQs of about 20—can be taught to read in less than six weeks of very brief daily instruction. It is almost certain that they will read more quickly and surely if the content of the introductory material is socially irrelevant. That is, Dr. Suess is more instructive than "Liberty Man."

Sure, the learning reader is developing in the context of a society. This society is no static machine. It does not determine his preoccupations, talents, skills, or obsessions. What were the causes that made the society that produced Pablo Picasso? Bah! Illingworth and Illingworth, in their *Lessons from Childhood,* show that eminent people have absolutely nothing in common in their childhood experiences save that all hated schooling!

Pragmatically, libertarians have to face the ugly fact that if you want children who grow into adults who are not xenophobic and who are open to new ideas you get them more consistently from cultures and families that are somewhat oppressive of children and defer their grasp of authority. Children raised with nurturing love and who are early given power and authority tend to conserve the values of home and are more xenophobic. Very authoritarian cultures can use the permissiveness and lovingness tactics with enormous effectiveness. The smack lip, nose-in-your-neck gemutlichkeit of Hitler and Goerring was central to Nazi potency. Blind loyalty is delivered more readily to a beloved in-group with much supportive love than to an in-group based on rationally balanced contracts. Mao demonstrated this tactic elegantly with his set-piece exercise in revolutionary education through the Red Guard and the "Troubles" of the mid-sixties. Give the young excessive authority, create a situation in which they must abuse that authority. They become inseparably wed to a society which grants them such power. Their subsequent punishment for excesses is received as a loving gift from a forebearing, patient parent and is cause for greater gratitude, loyalty and fervor, xenophobia and conservatism. The Hutterians of the Canadian-American Great Plains ensure almost no dropouts from a solidly authoritarian culture by using a radically self-conscious education, early delivery of real authority to adolescents, and early retirement with solid security for adults.

It was just a few years ago that the only libertarians about were people who ironically (and accurately) called themselves "*philosophical* anarchists"—as opposed to behaving anarchists. I suspect there are perhaps three practicing anarchists, and I'm not too sure about the other two. Even among talking libertarians we do not see many products of homes that would receive the A.S. Neill Seal of Approval. If we cast about for naively free human characters we may simply wind up in a wrangle of definition. However, the Maslowian fully functioning individuals who have been identified and studied were not products of Reich's genitally healthy homes. Nearly all sprang, Aphrodite-like, full-armed from Jove's brow. Perhaps an efficient libertarian school would more resemble basic training in Heinlein's *Starship Troopers* than Neill's Summerhill. It should not be forgotten that Reich died in despair and alienation, having seen no solution to the problem of the mass psychology of fascism.

I suspect the problem of setting into motion forces that result in the growth of adults who are naively free human characters is insoluble. As for a libertarian politics of schooling, beyond the negative planks of abolition of tax-supported, compulsory schooling and the licensing of teachers, what else can a libertarian consistently support?

The only consistent libertarian approach to schooling would be schooling that competes in an open marketplace by selling skills and attitudes valued by the customers. When the customers prefer packaged ersatz the problem becomes one of effective salesmanship or propaganda. Very likely propaganda is inadequate to the task and such large forces are involved that a libertarian politics is irrelevant. Education, as was so bluntly shown in China, is an effective tool for political power. Libertarian values are not power values but the structuring of political sanctions against power.

Joel Spring has written an instructive, provocative, and valuable book, but has not begun to provide a primer for libertarians in education. Who knows? Perhaps the road to libertarian attitudes is through the jungle. **Reviewed by George von Hilsheimer / Free Life Editions, 1975 / $3.95, pb; $8.95, hc**

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**Hess**—*(Continued from page 3)*

drudgery, which does not come up with useful results. A poem or a painting is worthless if what the community needs is nails.

*What Happened to Conservatism?* is not, as Hess suggests, about conservatism, but rather about the New Left. Nor does the New Left propose a novel approach to solving the problems of life in a society permeated with inhumanly large and unresponsive institutions. It continues the Utopian nostalgia for the joys of simplicity and hard work. While such qualities are valuable, they are perhaps best appreciated when one is free to wander through a museum, or read a book, or listen to a speech. The prospect of grubbing in the dirt ten hours a day at the mercy of an early frost has limited appeal as a way of living. **Reviewed by Elizabeth Worthington Philip / Tape 319 (58 minutes) / $9.95. Order from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.**

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**Jews**—*(Continued from page 6)*

took on the appearance of sanctioning genocide, and the isolationists were finished. And FDR, who sacrificed thousands of Americans to his design, was quite capable of sacrificing millions abroad as well.

Of the 10 million people in Hitler's Europe classified as Jews under the Nuremberg Code, about a third survived the German and Allied efforts. Unfortunately, there is no historical study of those who survived. Dawidowicz' *The War Against the Jews* is sometimes a brilliant work—it offers an original, if conjectural, reinterpretation of the Madagascar project—but it is concerned for the most part with those who stayed in the ghettos and were murdered. Yet even Hilberg's Germans were struck by the remarkable paucity of able-bodied adults in the ghettos. The victims of the gas chambers were for the most part too young, or too old, or too sick to resist their fate. The others took to the forests, hid when hunted, fought back when attacked, and survived. Their history remains to be written. **Reviewed by Adam V. Reed / *Destruction* / Watts, 1971 / $7.95 / *Six Million* / Hart, 1975 / $4.95 / *Gates* / Atheneum, 1975 / $10 / *They Fought Back* / Schocken, 1975 / $4.95 / *War* / HRW Publications, 1975 / $17.25**


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"The party has come a long way toward receiving national prominence and odds are that the nation has not heard the last from Roger MacBride, the Libertarian Party, and their campaign to roll back big givernment and guarantee individual freedom in America once more."

—HUMAN EVENTS

"Roger MacBride's Libertarian Party may become the new wisdom of those seeking to turn the older parties into pathways that would have made sense to the Thomas Jefferson who believed that the mark of good government is one that governs least."

—JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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- We've founded the Young Libertarian Alliance—a network of LP affiliates on campuses. A YLA campus organizing manual has been published, and recruitment ads have been run in more than 150 college newspapers.
- The LP is now established in all 50 states. As a result, the MacBride campaign will be provided with essential grassroots organization and support.

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### The Pseudo-Science of B.F. Skinner
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"Beyond freedom and dignity—to social engineering, the totally controlled environment, the maximalist state: such is Skinner's goal, and such is the target of Tibor Machan's weighty and persuasive book, a full-fledged attack on Skinner's 'inadequate, unsupported [but well received], fanciful theory of man and human action.' Dr. Machan. . . probes deeply into the full corpus of Dr. Skinner's theorizing, revealing the roots of both the determinist obsession and the humanist defense of freedom, exposing the inner contradictions in *Beyond Freedom and Dignity,* and issuing a ringing affirmation of individual freedom. The book's weaknesses are two: it sometimes is so dense, so packed with material beyond the ken of the general reader, that it frustrates; and it cuddles too snugly within the Objectivist mold. . . . Those are minor weaknesses, however, and to them as take their cues from Our Lady Ayn Objectivist, not weaknesses at all. The bulk of the book is splendid: a devastating critique of a degrading philosophy; a very fine libertarian statement of values and principles."—David Brudnoy in *National Review* / **Philosophy / Arlington House, 1975 / $9.95**

### Honorable Treason: The Declaration of Independence and the Men Who Signed It
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### The Philosophy of Sir Karl Popper
**By Robert John Ackermann**

"This acute and scholarly discussion of Popper's philosophy presupposes that the reader is familiar not only with Popper's own views, but with the philosophical background thereto, and especially with the work of R. Carnap on verifiability and inductive inference, of T. Kuhn on relativism and scientific knowledge, and of P. Feyerabend and I. Lakatos on scientific methodology. Ackermann discusses Popper's views on these subjects and also on probability, indeterminism, quantum theory, the social sciences, and democracy. Positions are stated clearly and criticized incisively and fairly. The book is both an important critical study and an insightful contribution to the philosophy of science."—Robert Hoffman in *Library Journal* / **Philosophy / Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1976 / $15**

### The Disposal of Liberty And Other Industrial Wastes
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**Rothbard**—*(Continued from page 9)*
and economic development that endangered their rule.

The incidental delights of the film should not be missed. There are, for example, several hilarious "cultural relativist" jokes, made of course by Huston rather than Kipling, but yet in the latter's spirit. Thus, when Connery is horrified at the natives playing polo with the heads of their defeated enemies, Caine remainds him: "Remember, we can't question the mores of the natives."

Connery and Caine are excellent, Connery making a graceful transition from romantic lead to character actor, Caine, obviously guided by Huston, shedding his usual smart-aleck and sophisticated Cockney image. A good time is had by all, actors and audience alike.■


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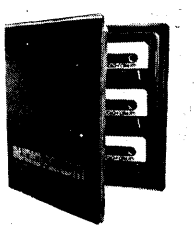

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# Libertarian Cross Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

• An apology and a correction are in order: In the March-April *LR* I somehow inserted the wrong name for the **Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives (AREA).** Let me repeat that AREA is a promising libertarian oriented group organized "to oppose the growing number of regulations and restrictions on private property rights and the mushrooming involvement in urban affairs." AREA has just appointed a new national secretary: **Bill Burt**, R.D. 2, Cuba, NY 14727. For further information write to Burt or **Dick Bjornseth** 5015 Fondren, Suite 235, Houston, TX 77036.

• An Adam Smith prize essay contest has been launched by the **Institute of Economic Affairs** in England. The essay subject is "The Relevance of Adam Smith for 1976," and there is a £1000 prize for best entry by writers under thirty (on 1 January 1976). Required length is 2500 to 3000 words. Second (£600) and third (£400) prizes may also be awarded. The panel of judges includes: **Lord Robbins, S.R. Dennison, Arthur Shenfield, Mark Blaug, John Jewkes,** and **Arthur Seldon.** There is also a £2000 no age limitation prize. Three copies of each entry should be submitted to IEA Essay Competition, 2 Lord North Street, London, S.W. I. England, no later than 31 July 1976. Entries must be in English and typed, double space, on one side of the page. Entrant's name, description, address, and date of birth must be attached on a separate sheet. All entries will be considered for a symposium to be published by the IEA; a payment of L50 will be made for essays selected, excepting the prize-winner.

The **1976 Southern Libertarian Conference** will be held 5-6 June at the White House Motor Inn, 70 Houston Street, Atlanta, Georgia. There will be speakers, workshops, films, and a banquet. The conference is cosponsored by the **Georgia Libertarian Party** and the **Society for Individual Liberty.** Contact Jim Clarkson, 332 E. 11th St., Rome, GA 30161.

• A seven-day **Institute in Political Economy** will be conducted on the campus of **Hillsdale College** (Hillsdale, Michigan), 25-31 July 1976. The faculty for this conservative-Austrian symposium will include **Russell Kirk, John C. Morehouse, Hans F. Sennholz,** and **John A. Sparks.** Subjects covered will include: "Perspectives on Hard Money and Trade Cycles," The Reinvigoration of the Roots of American Order" (Hmmmm), and "The 'Social Responsibility of Business' Controversy." Application deadline is 1 June 1976. Write to Dr. John A. Sparks, Hillsdale Summer Institute in Political Economy, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, MI 49242.

• A number of libertarian philosophers have recently launched a promising new scholarly organization. For further information write to the **American Association for the Philosophic Study of Society,** PO Box 13313, Wauwatosa, WI 53226.

• The **Association of Libertarian Lawyers** (102 West First Ave., Johnstown, NY 12095) is now beginning to operate. Their newsletter, *The Libertarian Lawyer* ($5 a year, edited by Dennia A. Schuman) is now in full swing. They hope to get a libertarian law journal going soon. Apply now for regular membership (for lawyers, law students, and other legal professions) or associate membership (nonvoting). Yearly dues are $10.

• **Thomas Szasz** recently published two typically hard-nosed articles concerning the Patricia Hearst case. See "Some Call it Brainwashing" (*New Republic,* 6 March 1976) and "Mercenary Psychiatry' (*New Republic,* 13 March 1976). One can readily agree with every word that Szasz writes about "brainwashing" (psychological influences of which we disapprove), and yet are we simply to lose sight of the fact that Hearst was violently kidnapped and apparently tortured in various manners? It is of course true that if she was guilty of crimes against persons and private property, she should be punished for same; but one need not be a mushy-headed liberal to see that the case is surrounded with some very important mitigating circumstances. The Hearst case seems to be a bit more complex than many libertarians are willing to allow.

• Libertarian Party presidential candidate **Roger Lea MacBride** has been receiving amazingly good coverage from the liberal and normally scoffing press. Three typically nice pieces are: Jack Mann's "The Presidency & Political Poetry" (*Washington Post,* 25 January 1976), Edwin A. Roberts' "Mainstreams: The Presidential Candidate for Maximum Liberty" (*National Observer,* 6 March 1976), and Penny Ward's "On the Move" (*People,* 29 March 1976).

• "Is Detente Worth Saving?" by George F. Kennan (*Saturday Review,* 6 March 1976) is an interesting review of Russian-American relations and the confusion over detente by an old cold warrior turned somewhat soft.

• **Richard S. Wheeler**'s review of Charlotte Twight's *America's Emerging Fascist Economy* (Arlington

# AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

### "Libertarian Culture Monsters"

Jerry Pournelle [*LR* Jan.-Feb. '76] seems to have fallen into a fallacy similar to that which engulfed Karl Hess in a previous edition of *LR.* It seems that both, perhaps through contacts with "libertarian culture monsters" (a plague inflicted by the almighty on more than one movement), have come to equate boorishness with libertarianism.

Libertarians are accused (rightly in many cases as individuals, but fallaciously as a collective accusation) of having dollar signs for pupils and attempting to "measure" value (presumably monetarily) in all endeavors, to the detriment of friendship, culture, and the other elements of a humane and civilized community. No such *neccessary* connection exists, however. As a reading of von Mises or Hayek would show, the free society provides the background in which individuals can pursue their own happiness. One can also read Spencer and note his distinction between social statics and social dynamics, with the former providing the foundation for the latter. As regards dollar-lusting entrepreneurs who can only talk shop or their intellectual yahoos, one can only avoid them and be thankful that they at least raise your *material* living standard, though they may depress your culture standard.

While Röpke correctly places (in my view) humaneness, charity, friendliness, and the like as requisites for a pleasant and liveable society, this is by no means a condemnation of libertarianism. For without freedom, these are by and large replaced by brutality, hatred, misery, ignorance, and an overall inhumaneness. Also, some of Röpke's political positions, presumably derived from his charity, invoke the power of the State, the most barbaric of *all* human institutions. Besides leading to greater poverty and want than would otherwise obtain (witness *all* of the State's "charitable" programs) these schemes use the most uncivilized means of changing man's actions, raw force combined with fear. If Dr. Pournelle doubts this, perhaps he would like to try not paying his taxes, social security tax, etc. The fist in the velvet glove doffs its covering and reveals its true nature.

What is more boring than a young convert to libertarianism? A young convert to Marxism, socialism, fascism, conservatism, liberalism, ad nauseum. The boorishness lies not in the ideology, but in the zeal to impose these views on another's time.

TOM G. PALMER
Arlington, Va.

### Dialogue?

Dr. Jerry Pournelle's review of Professor Röpke's *A Humane Economy* was a surprising disappointment. It is my understanding that it is the purpose of *Libertarian Review* to provide book reviews and commentary from a libertarian perspective. Dr. Pournelle's review clearly failed to accomplish that purpose.

To characterize young libertarians as "dull. . . civilizational monsters" and certain points of libertarian analysis as "precarious when they're not silly," does the movement no service. Such flippant remarks I expect to find in the pages of conservative journals, not on those of libertarian ones. If Dr. Pournelle wishes to speak to libertarians of what he considers to be flaws in their philosophy or their approach, he would find that they are much more responsive to rational discourse as opposed to his off-the-cuff sneering attitude.

Indeed, Dr. Pournelle labors under a delusion if he believes that libertarians wish to establish a dialogue with conservatives such as himself at all. After attempting to work with conservatives for many years, most libertarians have come to the conclusion that conservatives only want to speak at them, and never to listen to them. Such an attitude as Dr. Pournelle displays only serves to reinforce that conclusion.

A critical review of Professor Röpke's book would probably have proved to be interesting, but one from a person who seems not to perceive the chasm of philosophical difference between libertarianism and conservatism, and who seems intent on shepherding libertarians into the conservative fold through the means of ridiculing their consistent defense of human liberty is immeasureably more dull to this libertarian than Dr. Pournelle's young libertarian acquaintances must seem to him.

GREGORY J. CLARK
National Secretary
Libertarian Party
Rochester, Mich.

### Define Your Terms, Pournelle

And what is more dull than *three* young converts to libertarianism? *One* more "refutation" of the libertarian position, based in the idea that "there is a realm of life above and beyond the marketplace, and unless that realm is given its proper due, the market economy is doomed." Go ahead; test the quality of the ennui. Ask questions, like "What is a 'realm of life'?" "What is it to be 'above and beyond the marketplace'?" What does it mean to give a 'realm of life' its "proper due'?" The boredom comes while you're waiting for the answers. One answer might be that "realm of life" is jargon for "human activity" and that "above and beyond the marketplace" is jargon for "more inclusive than the marketplace" and that "giving a realm of life its proper due" really means "engaging in a certain activity." On this interpretation one might take the proposition "there is a realm of life above and beyond the marketplace, and unless that realm is given its proper due, the market economy is doomed" to mean "there is a class of human activity which is wider than the marketplace and includes the marketplace, and unless the members of a society attend to the other social activities of marketplace status, their marketplace is likely not to endure." Thinkers influenced by Ernst Cassirer would call this wider class of human acitivity "culture" and would agree that cultural forces are interdependent, so that the health of the market depends in certain ways on the health of, for example, science and art. But such thinkers would not be led by their analysis to argue for "a certain minimum of compulsory state institutions for social security." On the contrary: if they were consistent, they would be led to advocate abolition of the state as, inevitably, a force against social harmony and cultural genuineness (this last term, borrowed from Edward Sapir, is explained fully in his *Culture, Language and Personality*).

But this interpretation is not the one held in mind by conservatives who speak of "realms of life above and beyond the marketplace." In my experience, they hold no particular interpretation in mind. If Wilhelm Röpke holds a particular interpretation in mind, I don't know what it is: Jerry Pournelle didn't tell me. But I confess I'm not motivated to read Ropke myself and find out—my efforts to give such of his fellow conservatives as Ernest van den Haag, Duncan Williams, and Russell Kirk the benefit of the doubt on this issue has not been repaid, except

*Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to* LR, *901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.*



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House, 1975), "It Has Happened Here" (*National Review,* 2 April 1976), is an amazingly perceptive and good review of a book which deserves it.

• The best review I've yet seen of **Murray N. Rothbard**'s excellent *"Salutary Neglect": The American Colonies in the First Half of the 18th Century* (Vol. II of *Conceived in Liberty*; Arlington House, 1975) is that of **William Marina** in *Modern Age,* Winter 1976.

• It seems likely that **Daniel P. Moynihan** will soon be back in government one way or another. We should learn as much as we can about him. See Pete Hamill's excellent "What Makes Pat Moynihan Run On?," *Village Voice,* 16 February 1976.

• The **Carl Menger Society** is an Austro-libertarian group which meets as a monthly seminar in the London area. They have recently combined with London's **Austrian Institute** to give a reception for **F.A. Hayek.** Recent seminar papers have been delivered by **Sudah Shenoy, David Ramsey Steel,** and **Cris Tame,** all on different aspects of Austrian economics. For more information contact John Blundell, Flat 8, 6 Great Ormond St., London WC 1, England.

• One of the very best examinations of the deterioration of New York City, and one which takes an explicitly **Jane Jacobs**' perspective is **Jason Epstein**'s truly important "The Last Days of New York," *New York Review of Books*, 19 February 1976.

• Some libertarians have been casting an eye towards Governor **Jerry Brown** of California as an acceptable presidential candidate. A harsh lesson for these "Brownies" is awaiting them in the "Interview with Jerry Brown," *Playboy,* April 1976. Brown's hawkish foreign policy position seems to be taken straight from the pages of *Commentary*. His views on the FBI and CIA are equally alarming. My own position on this matter rests on the profound wisdom of this well-known old Macedonian proverb: "Never trust an ascetic turned politician."

• Revisionist historian **Barton J. Bernstein**'s review of two important new books on the history of the development of the nuclear nightmare zeros in on books that should be read by libertarians if they are ever to discuss the issue intelligently. See "Nuclear Madness: The Beginnings" (*The Progressive,* April 1976). The books reviewed are *A World Destroyed: The Atom Bomb and the Grand Alliance* by Martin U. Sherwin and *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller and the Superbomb* by Herbert York.

• **John Hospers**' recent "Ignorance, Envy, and Medical Scapegoats: The Push for Omnipotent Government" (*Private Practice,* February 1976) is a good attack on the FDA and HEW.

• For an interesting attack on the constitutional basis of present compulsory school-attendance laws in the U.S. see Stephen Arons, "The Separation of School and State: Pierce Reconsidered" (*Harvard Educational Review,* February 1976).

• One of the country's most impressive, inspiring, and energetic campus groups is the **University of Texas Young Libertarian Alliance.** For information on its activities contact Mike Grossberg, 1907 Nueces, Austin, TX 78705.

• Clearly one of the most active libertarians in the country is **Lynn Kinsky.** Her work in the Santa Barbara, California, area and in the national Libertarian Party is untiring. She has a good eye for hot issues and seemed to be the only consistently libertarian editor of *Reason*'s staff before her untimely departure. I miss her moderating editorial hand already. Ms Kinsky is currently running as the Libertarian Party's candidate for the Senate in California. An important plank in her campaign is that if elected, she will not accept a salary from the government. She needs campaign contributions: Kinsky for Senate, PO Box 6274, Santa Barbara, CA 92111.

• **The American Geographical Society** (156th St. at Broadway, New York, NY 10032) is undertaking a comprehensive research project designed to study the geographical (spatial) aspects of U.S. inflation processes and the resulting impacts. In effect, it will be an empirical examintion of the Misesian theory of inflation and the Austrian theory of the business cycle. The project is being headed up by Dr. **Peter Corbin,** Research Coordinator of the AGS, and **Murray Sabrin,** an Austro-geographer. Economics consultants on the project will include **Murray N. Rothbard,** and Yours Truly.

• Although it went largely unheralded, 23 January 1976 was a glorious day for the tens-of-thousands of young men who are or will be turning eighteen. This new generation no longer must register with Selective Service. But even though both war and the draft are over for most Americans, there are still many young Americans living in exile, forgotten by most, scorned by others. One organization that has not forgotten these men is the pacifist **Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors,** which publishes the *CCCO News Notes.* The CCCO has quite a bit of literature and information about the status of the amnesty campaign. For information write to Bob Seeley, 2016 Walnut St. Philadelphia, PA 19103.

• For a defense of natural law from a Straussian perspective, see "Justice: John Rawls vs. the Tradition of Political Philosophy" by Alan Bloom (professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto), in *American Political Science Review,* June 1975. This is a solid attack on Rawls, but it is weak on social contract theory.

• **Jim Davidson,** the driving force behind the **National Taxpayers Union** (325 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003), has an excellent article in the April 1976 *Playboy,* "Punch Out the I.R.S.," in which he discusses the growing tax revolt building across the nation. One can also get a lot of information about tax procedures, reforms and revolts from Karl J. Bray, Tax Reform Information Materials (TRIM), PO Box 2423, Orange, CA 92669, and the September 1975 issue of *Freedom Today* (RB Press, 4045 E. Palm Lane, Phoenix, AZ 85008), which is completely devoted to the Tax Revolt.

• **Robert Nozick,** professor of philosophy at Harvard and winner of the National Book Award for his *Anarchy, State and Utopia,* has written "Free Enterprise in America" for the 1976 *Brittanica Book of the Year*. It is a good presentation of the limited-government, capitalist position. Nozick points out how very far the twentieth century U.S. economy has moved from laissez faire. He also shows that numerous government interventions have been at the behest of the Big Businesses they were supposedly designed to control.

• For a very good account of the competition being initiated by Southwest Airlines in Texas' intrastate airline industry see "The Texas Airline War," *Washington Monthly,* March 1976.

• The *Libertarian Freedom Directory* (Church of Individual Liberty, PO Box 9397, Glendale, CA 01206, $4 a year, updated quarterly) is a useful directory of organizations and periodicals for which libertarians might often find a need.■

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with the tedium of appeals to "tradition." And I'm puzzled about one thing: how does Pournelle believe libertarians—consistent libertarians—*can* hold a dialogue with conservatives, or with anyone else who doesn't define his terms?

JEFF RIGGENBACH
Los Angeles, Calif.

### Pournelle Replies

I am and always have been well aware of the deep cleft between modern Libertarians and Conservatives. Still, I thought we were natural political allies, in that neither of us wants to destroy the system—both would, I thought, allow an actual alternation of government, rather than trying to take power in order to so change the system that the other could never get in. We could, I thought, be opponents and yet friends. Or so I thought until I saw some of the reactions to my review. Now I wonder.

At least Mr. Clark has put it out in the open: Libertarians have no desire to establish any dialogue with Conservatives.

As to "what is above and beyond the marketplace," I would say some institution or mechanism that would keep me out of the slave camps and defend Mr. Riggenbach's right to reject a dialogue with Conservatives—and in the world I live in that requires a lot of young men willing to spend their Christmases in deep holes out at Malmstrom and Whiteman Air Force bases, and other men in a different sort of blue uniform willing to get puked on by drunks, shot at by terrorists, and vilified by those whom they protect. I fear that I have so little shame that I can continue to say "God bless you, soldiers" and take seriously the Common Prayer litany "God Save the State and embue Thy ministers with righteousness."

But I am entering a dialogue with those who say unequivocally that they do not wish to hear from or of my party. I'd best quit while I'm ahead.

JERRY POURNELLE
Studio City, Calif.

### Tax Favors

I cringe whenever I see a libertarian endorse the tax favors which some special interest groups receive. Michael Emerling does just this in his review of *Freedom Under Siege* (*LR* Jan.-Feb.'76).

Libertarians have been fighting the misuse of church power for centuries. We must continue to fight, and not instead applaud the ability of the churches to gain special advantages. Next, perhaps, Mr. Emerling will be asking us to approve of a law which exempts the legislators themselves from the taxes which they impose on the rest of the population. And then we'll support a law which cuts taxes for the whites, but not the blacks, in some benighted country. "A country in which some escape taxation. . . is better than one in which none do," Mr. Emerling will tell us.

JACK R. SANDERS
San Diego, Calif.

### Emerling a Fifth Columnist?

Mr. Emerling's review of *Freedom Under Siege* is distorted at best and pernicious at worst. He ignores the thrust of its thesis. Ms O'Hair maintains that the special financial privileges granted to religious organizations in the United States constitute a hidden tax on all taxpayers. She supports her point in voluminous detail. The financial magnitude of these privileges *is* staggering, and Ms O'Hair can certainly be forgiven for thinking that personal taxes would be notably reduced by removing the numerous privileges and exemptions offered to religious organizations.

If her proposals were to be implemented, substantial church holdings would at least be subject to taxation. I doubt, however, that my individual taxes would be significantly reduced, but at least the churches would truly pay their own way.

Mr. Emerling's article sidesteps any considerations of justice in his approval of the churches' singular success in avoiding the statist burden of taxation. Perhaps the Mafia should also be applauded for its success in avoiding governmental controls! Taxes exist. Present demands by the majority of American citizens for a veritable zoo of federal programs, combined with the admittedly deplorable necessity for an effective—and expensive—national defense, make it highly unlikely that the present level of governmental control will decline in the near future. Taxes are here to stay for a while. Why should nonbelievers have to subsidize religionist insanities?

Even persons who usually find Ms O'Hair to be both blasphemous and unendurably abrasive should inform themselves of the enormous financial influence of the organized churches on the American economy. For those who agree with Ms O'Hair in thinking that freedom of religion includes freedom *from* religion, *Freedom Under Siege* is an expose of the extent to which agnostics and atheists are forced by our present laws into supporting the very churches they detest.

Of course, your reviewer could be a religionist in Libertarian's clothing. Is Mr. Emerling merely mistaken—or is he a fifth columnist in the churches' attack on freedom of religion? Anyone who wonders how well we have managed to separate Church and State in our country should read *Freedom Under Siege* and form his own opinions.

L. STEPHEN YOUNG
Greenville, Calif.

### Emerling Replies

Jack R. Sanders and L. Stephen Young believe that church exemption from taxation is somehow a favor, privilege, or special advantage. In the name of justice, equal treatment, and liberty, they suggest that churches be taxed.

There are a number of errors contained in this position—far too many to examine in the space allotted. There is, however, an unholy trinity of misconceptions upon which this view rests. Let us briefly have a look at it.

First, taxation is theft. Theft violates a person's sovereignty over his life, liberty, and property. The person who avoids taxation is retaining control of what is rightfully his. Advocating universal taxation in the name of liberty is like advocating universal murder in the name of life: both positions are self-contradictory.

Second, equal treatment may be good or evil. The murder of first-born children under the age of two could be accomplished. All children under two would be treated equally. But this is evil of the lowest order. Uniformity is blind: it serves virtue and vice without question. Consistent evil is far worse than compromising, inconsistent evil.

Third, taxation is an unjust burden, a vicious penalty for the "sin" of earning and saving money. Avoiding this disadvantage is not some kind of special advantage. Escaping a penalty is not a reward. Negating a negative is not a positive. Those who escape an injustice should be admired and emulated, not scorned and repudiated.

Almost every church in America is supported by past or present voluntary contributions of members. It is only when a church uses force to achieve its goals that religion may properly be termed a political problem. Until and unless a church employs coercion, libertarians will take a "Hands Off!" policy toward it and every other form of voluntary assocation.

MICHAEL EMERLING
Tucson, Ariz.



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## LITERATURE

**"FINANCIAL SURVIVAL** in the Seventies," Rene Baxter's $6 paper. Richard Shaw Monique Press, Suite 11-K, 98-15 Horace Harding Express, Corona, New York 11368.

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